DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 026 028 24 HE 000 538

By-Flanigan, William; Repass, David
Manual for the Political Behavior Laboratory.
Minnesota Univ., Minneapolis. Dept. of Political Science.
Spons Agency-Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Research.
Bureau No-BR-6-1513
Pub Date 21 Dec 67
Grant-OEG-3-7-061513-0058
Note-150p.
EDRS Price MF-$0.75 HC-$7.60
Descriptors-*Higher Education, *Laboratory Techniques, National Surveys, *Political Attitudes, Political Issues, *Political Science, Public Opinion, Teaching Techniques

A laboratory manual containing 14 exercises for students taking intermediate-level courses on US public opinion and voting behavior. The first 2 studies deal with survey research methods and the use of data processing equipment. The remaining 12 are substantive exercises in the analysis of political survey data. The purpose of these assignments is to provide an opportunity for students to reanalyze political survey data and compare their findings with those of persons who conducted the first analysis. All studies are based on previously analyzed presidential election surveys that were conducted by the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center in 1952, 1956, 1960, and 1964. The University of Minnesota first introduced similar exercises in the spring of 1963 and discovered that when students mastered the techniques of analysis, they successfully organized their own analysis around topics of their own choosing. The manual is the first of a series designed to stimulate independent research. Similar presentations are planned in the areas of comparative government, community power, legislative and judicial behavior, international relations, political development, and quantitative methods. (WM)

BR 6-1513
PA-24
BR-OE

ED026028

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

POLITICAL
LABORATORY
CURRICULUM
PROJECT

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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Manual for the

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR LABORATORY

by
WILLIAM FLANIGAN and
DAVID REPASS
with the assistance of
JOHN PIERCE and
NANCY ZINGALE

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MANUAL

for the

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR LABORATORY

by

William Flanigan
and
David RePass

with the assistance of

John Pierce
and
Nancy Zingale

Political Laboratory Curriculum Project
Department of Political Science
University of Minnesota

This manual was prepared under grant OEG-3-7-061513-0058 from the Office of Education. All or parts of this manual may be used without restriction.

Preface

This laboratory manual was prepared for use in conjunction with intermediate level courses on American public opinion and voting behavior. All the exercises in the manual are based on the same idea: students can usefully reanalyze the major collections of political survey data and compare their findings with those of the original analysts. The "secondary analysis" in these exercises provides the student with the highest quality American political survey data available to any scholar. Once the student has mastered the simple techniques of secondary analysis he is prepared to undertake original analysis on many topics even within the narrow range of material provided with this laboratory. The emphasis on this approach is heavily substantive since we have sacrificed the methodological training associated with doing a limited "class project" survey in order to concentrate on the analysis of data.

The studies used in this manual are the Presidential election surveys of 1952, 1956, 1960, and 1964 conducted by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan. The major analysis of these data has appeared in The American Voter and Elections and the Political Order by Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller and Donald Stokes all of the University of Michigan. The data used in these exercises were made available by the Inter-university Consortium for Political Research. Warren Miller, the founder and Director of the Consortium, and his staff have made these and many other political data collections available to the scholarly community for secondary analysis, and the exercises in this manual represent only a small fraction of the research opportunities existing in the Consortium archives.

The manual includes a code for the analysis deck and the code explains how to get information about the electorate out of the analysis deck of IBM cards. There are fourteen exercises in the manual. The first and second deal with survey research methods and the use of data processing equipment. The remaining twelve assignments are substantive exercises in the analysis of political survey data. The twelve main exercises are structured to a high degree with specified distributions for the tables and questions relating to them. Some of the exercises do not require computation by the student since all percentages are supplied in the tables. In addition to these structured assignments there are a large number of exercises listed at the end of the main assignments which suggest investigations allowing for more originality and initiative. Our experience has been that very soon after mastering the techniques of analysis students want to be free to organize their own analysis around topics of their own choosing.

These exercises are designed for use under circumstances where students have relatively free access to a counter-sorter. (Staff for the course will need at least a key punch and a reproducer.) The exercises have not been computerized in any form although in principle this could be done without altering them substantively. It should also be possible to offer the twelve structured exercises without access to data processing equipment by supplying students with the raw data or percentages for each table.

In many ways the purposes of the manual are served only when the student moves beyond these exercises to work on the data independently. Since the spring of 1963 when exercises like these were first introduced at the University of Minnesota, our experience has been that students quickly develop an analytic perspective on these data, come to appreciate the original analysis more thoroughly, and generate remarkably sophisticated work of their own. If at all possible late in the course students should be given access to the full Survey Research Center archive (which is available to Consortium members free of charge and to other colleges and universities at cost) affording broader research opportunities of all types. More ambitious programs could make available other studies like Stouffer's *Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties* surveys and Almond and Verba's *The Civic Culture* surveys.

The development and preparation of this manual was carried out under grant OEG-3-7-061513-0058 from the Office of Education to the Minnesota Political Laboratory Curriculum Project. In addition to this valuable support we depended on the help and forebearance of our students who suffered through several versions of these exercises and we are pleased to express our debt to them.

Editor's Preface

This manual is the first of a series aimed at bringing to undergraduate teaching the sophistication and the excitement of dealing with genuine research problems, the discovery and examination of data rather than passive acceptance of conclusions. Members of the Department of Political Science at the University of Minnesota have been involved in the development of such a program for nearly five years. We expect over the course of the next two years to issue similar--but individualized--efforts as follows: comparative government, Edwin Fogelman; community power, Thomas Scott; legislative behavior, Eugene Eidenberg; judicial behavior, Samuel Krislov and Malcolm Feeley; international relations, Ellen Pirro, and political development, Roger Benjamin;and quantitative methods by Roger Benjamin and William Flanigan.

We are interested in securing the impartial evaluation of these efforts and are cooperating with a limited number of schools, providing teaching materials in exchange for such evaluation. Interested departments or individuals may write to me or the project co-director William Flanigan.

The project itself is supported by the Office of Education and the National Science Foundation. In accordance with the principles of public support, and our own purposes, we are making all materials available without restriction.

Samuel Krislov
Minneapolis, Minnesota
December 21, 1967

Political Behavior Laboratory

LABORATORY DECK-1

Survey Research Center National Samples - 1952, 1956, 1960, 1964

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78	47	1964 Race
79	47	1964 Mass Media Usage Index
80	48	1964 Most important media source

Column Number	Code
	1952 Data
1	**1952 Income** About what do you think your total income will be this year for yourself and your family? 1. Under $1000 2. $1000-1999 3. $2000-2999 4. $3000-3999 5. $4000-4999 6. $5000-7499 7. $7500-9999 8. $10,000 and over 9. DK -. NA 0. No Income
2	**1952 Religion** Is your church preference Protestant, Catholic or Jewish? 1. Protestant 2. Catholic 3. Jewish +. Other -. NA 0. None
3	**1952 Race** 1. White 2. Negro +. Other -. NA

Column Number   Code

4   1952 Region where Interview Taken

0. New England
1. Middle Atlantic
2. East North Central
3. West North Central
4. Solid South
5. Border States
6. Mountain States
7. Pacific States

5   1952 Education

0. None
1. Some Grade School
2. Completed Grade School
3. Some High School
4. Completed High School
5. Some high school plus other non-college schooling
6. Completed high school plus other non-college schooling
7. Some College
8. Completed College (has a degree)

-. NA

6   1952 Occupation

What kind of work does the head of your household do?

1. Professional and Semi-professional
2. Self-employed businessmen and artisans; managers and officials
3. Clerical and sales; buyers, agents, brokers
4. Skilled and semi-skilled
5. Unskilled, service workers, farm laborers
6. Protective service
7. Unemployed
8. Farm operators
9. Retired

+. Housewife

0. Student

-. NA

Column Number	Code

7 **1952 Party Identification**

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, an Independent, a Democrat, or what? (If Rep or Dem) Would you call yourself a strong (R) (D) or a not very strong (R) (D)? (If Independent or Other) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?

1. Strong Democrat
2. Not very strong Democrat
3. Independent closer to Democrats
4. Independent
5. Independent closer to Republicans
6. Not very strong Republican
7. Strong Republican
0. A-political
+. Other, minor party and refused to say
-. NA

8 **1952 Social Class Identification**

There's quite a bit of talk these days about four different social classes. If you were asked to use one of these four names for your social class, which would you say you belonged in--the middle class, lower class, working class, or upper class?

1. Middle class
2. Lower class
3. Working class
4. Upper class

8. Refused to answer, no such things as class in America

9. DK
-. NA

Column Number — Code

9 — 1952 Party Regularity

Have you always voted for the same party or have you voted for different parties for president? Which party was that?

1. Always same party-Democratic
2. Always same party-Republican
3. Always same party-Other
4. Always same party-NA which party

5. Mostly same party-Democratic
6. Mostly same party-Republican
7. Mostly same party-Other
8. Mostly same party-NA which party

+. Different parties

9. DK
-. NA
0. Inappropriate—has never voted

10 — 1952 Interest in Campaign

Some people don't pay much attention to the political campaigns. How about you. Would you say that you have been very much interested, or not much interested in following the political campaigns so far this year.

1. Very much interested
2. (somewhat) interested
5. Not much interested
9. DK
-. NA

Column Number — Code

11

1952 Congressional Vote

How about the vote for Congressman? Did you vote for a candidate for congress? Who did you vote for?

1. Mentions correct Democratic candidate
2. Mentions incorrect Democratic candidate
3. Mentions Democratic party only

4. Mentions correct Republican candidate
5. Mentions incorrect Republican candidate
6. Mentions Republican party only

+. Mentions other party or candidate

8. Did not vote for congressman
9. DK who voted for
-. NA; refused to answer
0. Inappropriate—did not vote

12

1952 Presidential Vote

Presidential vote and preference of non-voters

1. Voted-Democratic
2. Voted-Republican
3. Voted-Other
4. Voted-Refused to say for whom
5. Voted-DK for whom
6. Voted-NA for whom
7. Non-voter, Democratic preference
8. Non-voter, Republican preference
9. Non-voter, other preference
0. Non-voter, refused to state preference
-. Non-voter—DK preference
+. Non-voter, NA preference

Column Number | Code

1956 Data

13 | 1956 Religion

Is your church preference Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish?

1. Protestant
2. Catholic
3. Jewish

4. Other
5. None
-. None

14 | 1956 Occupation

What kind of work does the head of your household do?

1. Professional and Semi-professional
2. Self-employed businessmen and artisans; managers and officials
3. Clerical and sales; buyers, agents, brokers
4. Skilled and semi-skilled
5. Unskilled, service workers, farm laborers
6. Protective service
7. Unemployed
8. Farm operators
9. Retired
+. Housewife
0. Student
-. NA

15 | 1956 Race

Race of Respondent

1. White
2. Negro

8. Other, including Mexicans, Puerto Ricans
9. NA

Column Number	Code
16	**1956 Education** 0. None 1. Some Grade School 2. Completed Grade School 3. Some High School 4. Incomplete high school plus other non-college schooling 5. Completed High School 6. Completed high school plus other non-college schooling 7. Some College 8. Completed College (has a degree) -. NA
17	**1956 Region** 1. Northeast 2. Northeast 3. Northeast 4. Midwest 5. Midwest 6. Midwest 7. Far West 8. South 9. South 0. South

Column Number

Code

18

1956 Income

About what do you think your total income will be this year for yourself and your immediate family?

1. Under $1000
2. $1000-1999
3. $2000-2999
4. $3000-3999
5. $4000-4999
6. $5000-5999
7. $6000-7499
8. $7500-9999
9. $10,000 and over

+. DK
-. NA
0. Refused to say

19

1956 Party Identification

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, an Independent, a Democrat, or what? (If Rep or Dem) Would you call yourself a strong (R) (D) or a not very strong (R) (D)? (If Independent or Other) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?

1. Strong Democrat
2. Not very strong Democrat
3. Independent closer to Democrats
4. Independent
5. Independent closer to Republicans
6. Not very strong Republican
7. Strong Republican

0. A-political
+. Other, minor party and refused to say
-. NA

Column Number	Code
20	1956 Social Class Identification

There's quite a bit of talk these days about different social classes. Most people say they belong either to the middle class or to the working class. Do you ever think of yourself as being in one of these classes? Which class?

1. Average working class
2. Working class
3. Upper part of working class

4. Average middle class
5. Middle class
6. Upper middle class

7. Some other class
8. Some other class, upper part
9. DK

-. NA
+. Rejects idea of class identification

Column Number	Code
21	1956 Congressional Vote

How about the vote for Congressman? Did you vote for a candidate for congress? Who did you vote for?

1. Mentions correct Democratic candidate
2. Mentions incorrect Democratic candidate
3. Mentions Democratic party only

4. Mentions correct Republican candidate
5. Mentions incorrect Republican candidate
6. Mentions Republican party only

+. Mentions other party or candidate

8. Did not vote for congressman
9. DK who voted for

-. NA; refused to answer
0. Inappropriate--did not vote

Column Number   Code

22   1956 Presidential Vote

Presidential vote and preference of non-voters

1. Voted Democratic
2. Voted Republican
3. Voted Other
4. Voted, Refused to say for whom
5. Voted, DK for whom
6. Voted, NA for whom
7. Non-voter, Democratic preference
8. Non-voter, Republican preference
9. Non-voter, Other preference
0. Non-voter, refused to state preference
-. Non-voter, DK preference
+. Non-voter, NA preference

23   1956 Party Contact

You know that the parties try to talk to as many people as they can to get them to vote for their candidates. Did anybody from either one of the parties call you up or come around and talk to you during the campaign?

1. Yes, Democrat
2. Yes, Republican
3. Yes, Both
4. Yes, Other

5. No
9. DK
-. NA

Column Number	Code
24	1956 Party Regularity

Have you always voted for the same party or have you voted for different parties for president? Which party was that?

1. Always same party--Democratic
2. Always same party--Republican
3. Always same party--Other
4. Always same party--NA which party

5. Mostly same party--Democratic
6. Mostly same party--Republican
7. Mostly same party--Other
8. Mostly same party--NA which party

+. Different parties

9. DK
-. NA
0. Inappropriate--has never voted

Column Number **Code**

25 **1956 Level of Conceptualization**

The following assessment of R's level of conceptualization was based on a reading of responses to Q. 2-10 of the 1956 pre-election interview. Thus it includes the question on "Care" about election outcome and the eight basic master code items on parties and candidates. (For fuller description of category content and illustrative materials, see chapter on ideology in the 1960 volume.)

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS: Code in the highest possible category, given the nature of the master code materials.

1. Clearest and fullest. Reserve for cases where either
   (1) remarks go to heart of liberal-conservative distinction--receptivity to change, or
   (2) clear sense of relative points on a continuum, with motion in from or out toward extremes.

2. More simple, static view but still clearly on one of the basic "underlying" questions involved in the liberal-conservative distinction.

3. Use of concepts or terms, but paucity of differentiation and lack of evidence which gives confidence in breadth or appropriateness of meaning attributed to them.

4. Misuse of concepts or terms: evidence of misunderstanding or meaning.

5. Rich specific issue content: differentiated structure without explicit ideological reference. Usually involves cases in which the picture of clash of group interests (a la categories 6 or 7) is so highly differentiated that perhaps only superficial cues missing which would rate a 1-4.

6. Clash of group interest, normal. Include any perceptions of opposition of interests between groups reflected in active opposition between the parties or candidates. A simple statement that a party is "more for the common man" does not qualify here (is rather an 8) unless there is explicit indication either that the opposing party or candidate favors a natural antagonist (i.e., "the big man") or engages in politics which hurt "the common man."

Column Number	Code
25	1956 Level of Conceptualization (cont.)

7. Clash of group interest, impoverished. Any statement of opposition of group interest which is very thin, slogan-like, or clearly derivative from others, without much impact for the respondent. Thus the perception that the Democrats are for the working man and the Republicans for big business without further supporting content or prefaced, "I've been told that . . ." falls in this category. Often this is a wife indicating she doesn't know anything about it but this is what she hears her husband say.

8. Single-group interest. Party is "for the Negro"; "for labor"; "for poor people"; "for the little man", etc., in the sense that it "gives help to", without explicit indication that the other party is hard on this group or actively favors a natural antagonist.

9. Single-group interest: farm. Parallels category 8.

0. Generalized economic welfare. E.g., "Times are good when the Democrats are in"--no group differentiation. Use also for any little structure of economic issues which misses 1-9, such as criticism of spending, failure to balance budget.

-. Some issue content, but doesn't fit 1-0. Usually references to war, but also includes extremely isolated reactions to a single economic measure like social security and slogan-like references to peace and prosperity.

&. No reasonable political issue content at all. Includes complete know-nothings; people fixated on persons or personalities and pseudo-issues such as health, divorce, "time for a change", etc., without further content. These are often the "vote for the man", "parties are all the same", or "I don't follow politics" types.

Column Number **Code**

26 **1956 Interest in Campaign**

Some people don't pay much attention to the political campaigns. How about you. Would you say that you have been very much interested, or not much interested in following the political campaigns so far this year.

1. Very much interested
2. (somewhat) interested
5. Not much interested
9. DK
-. NA

27 **1956 Candidate Image**

The number of favorable and unfavorable comments totaled.

1. Pro-Stevenson (very strong)
2. "
3. "
4. "
5. Pro-Stevenson (weak)
6. Neutral, comments evenly divided
7. Pro-Eisenhower (weak)
8. "
9. "
0. "
-. Pro-Eisenhower (very strong)
+. NA, DK

Column Number	Code
28	1956 Union Identification

Based on the following two questions:

1. Would you say you feel pretty close to labor union members in general or that you don't feel much closer to them than you do to other kinds of people?
2. How much interest would you say you have in how union people as a whole are getting along in this country? Do you have a good deal of interest in it, some interest, or not much interest at all? Responses to the two questions were combined into a new code as follows.

	Q 1	Feel Close	Not Close	DK NA
	Good deal	1.	2.	2.
	Some	2.	3.	2.
Q 2	Not much	3.	4.	4.
	DK, NA	2.	3.	-.

Thus, Union Identification Index

1. High Identification
2.
3.
4. Low Identification

Column Number	Code
29	1956 Union Legitimacy Index

Based on the following two questions:

1. How do you feel about labor unions trying to get Congress to pass laws that union members are interested in? Do you think it's all right for them to do that, or do you think they ought to stay out of that?
2. How do you feel about labor unions trying to help certain candidates get elected? Do you think it's all right for them to do that, or do you think they ought to stay out of that?

Responses to the two questions were combined into a new code as follows:

		Q 1			
		All Right	Depends Pro-Con	Stay Out	DK NA
Q 2	All right	1.	3.	3.	3.
	Depends	2.	3.	4.	3.
	Stay Out	2.	4.	4.	3.
	NA, DK	2.	3.	3.	-.

Thus, Legitimacy Index

1. High Legitimacy: all right for group to engage in political activity.
2.
3.
4. Low Legitimacy: illegitimate for group to engage in political activity.

Column Number	Code
30	1956 Catholic Identification

Based on the following two questions:

1. Would you say you feel pretty close to Catholics in general or that you don't feel much closer to them than you do to other kinds of people?
2. How much interest would you say you have in how Catholics as a whole are getting along in this country? Do you have a good deal of interest in them, some interest, or not much interest at all? Responses to the two questions were combined into a new code as follows.

	Q 1	Feel Close	Not Close	DK NA
	Good deal	1.	2.	2.
	Some	2.	3.	2.
Q 2	Not much	3.	4.	4.
	DK, NA	2.	3.	-.

Thus, Catholic Identification Index

1. High Identification
2.
3.
4. Low Identification

Column Number   Code

31   1956 Catholic Legitimacy

Based on the following two questions:

1. How do you feel about Catholic organizations trying to get Congress to pass laws that Catholics are interested in? Do you think it's all right for them to do that, or do you think they ought to stay out of that?
2. How do you feel about Catholic organizations trying to help certain candidates get elected? Do you think it's all right for them to do that, or do you think they ought to stay out of that?

Responses to the two questions were combined into a new code as follows:

		Q 1			
		All Right	Depends Pro-Con	Stay Out	DK NA
Q 2	All right	1.	3.	3.	3.
	Depends	2.	3.	4.	3.
	Stay Out	2.	4.	4.	3.
	NA, DK	2.	3.	3	-.

Thus, Legitimacy Index

1. High Legitimacy: all right for group to engage in political activity.
2.
3.
4. Low Legitimacy: illegitimate for group to engage in political activity.

Column Number	Code
32	**1956 Tax Issue**

The government ought to cut taxes even if it means putting off some important things that need to be done.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree, but not very strongly
3. Not sure, it depends
4. Disagree, but not very strongly
5. Disagree strongly

9. DK
0. No opinion

-. NA

Column Number	Code
33	**1956 Medical Care Issue**

The government ought to help people get doctors and hospital care at low cost.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree, but not very strongly
3. Not sure, it depends
4. Disagree, but not very strongly
5. Disagree strongly

9. DK
-. NA
0. No opinion

Column Number   Code

34   1956 Economic Aid Issue

The United States should give economic help to the poorer countries of the world even if they can't pay for it.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree, but not very strongly
3. Not sure; it depends
4. Disagree, but not very strongly
5. Disagree strongly

9. DK
-. NA
0. No opinion

35   1956 International Toughness Issue

The best way for this country to deal with Russia and Communist China is to act just as tough as they do.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree, but not very strongly
3. Not sure; it depends
4. Disagree, but not very strongly
5. Disagree strongly

9. DK
-. NA
0. No opinion

Column Number **Code**

36 **1956 Public Power and Housing Issue**

The government should leave things like electric power and housing for private businessmen to handle.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree, but not very strongly
3. Not sure; it depends
4. Disagree,but not very strongly
5. Disagree strongly

9. DK
-. NA
0. No opinion

37 **1956 Suspected Communists Issue**

The government ought to fire any government worker who is accused of being a Communist even though they don't prove it.

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree, but not very strongly
3. Not sure, it depends
4. Disagree, but not very strongly
5. Disagree strongly

9. DK
-. NA
0. No opinion

Column Number **Code**

1960 Data

38 **1960 Income**

About what do you think your total income will be this year for yourself and your immediate family?

0. Under $1000
1. $1000-1999
2. $2000-2999
3. $3000-3999
4. $4000-4999
5. $5000-5999
6. $6000-7499
7. $7500-9999
8. $10,000-14,999
9. $15,000 or over

+. Refused
-. NA DK

39 **1960 Race**

1. White
2. Negro

+. Other, including Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Asians
-. NA

40 **1960 Education**

0. None
1. Some Grade School
2. Completed Grade School
3. Some High School
4. Incomplete high school plus other non-college schooling
5. Completed High School
6. Completed high school plus other non-college schooling
7. Some College
8. Completed College (has a degree)

-. NA

Column Number — Code

41 — 1960 Occupation

What kind of work does the head of your household do?

1. Professional and Semi-professional
2. Self-employed businessmen and artisans; managers and officials
3. Clerical and sales; buyers, agents, brokers
4. Skilled and semi-skilled
5. Unskilled, service workers, farm laborers
6. Protective service
7. Unemployed
8. Farm operators
9. Retired

+. Housewife

0. Student

-. NA

42 — 1960 Religion

1. Catholic
2. Orthodox
3. Jewish
4. Protestant-general
5. Protestant-Reformation era
6. Protestant-pietistic
7. Protestant-Neo-Fundamentalist
8. Non-traditional Christian

0. Non-Christian, agnostic, atheistic

9. DK, other

+. No preference

-. No answer

Column Number   Code

43   1960 Region

0. New England
1. Middle Atlantic
2. East North Central
3. West North Central
4. Solid South
5. Border States
6. Mountain States
7. Pacific States

44   1960 Party Identification

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what? Would you consider yourself a strong (R) (D) or not a very strong (R) (D)? If Independent or other, do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?

1. Strong Democrat
2. Not very strong Democrat

3. Independent, closer to Democrats
4. Independent
5. Independent, closer to Republicans

6. Not very strong Republican
7. Strong Republican

0. A-political
&. Other, minor party and refused to say

-. NA

Column Number — Code

45 **1960 Interest in Campaign**

Some people don't pay much attention to the political campaigns. How about you, would you say that you were very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in following the political campaigns this year.

1. Very much interested
3. Somewhat interested
5. Not much interested

9. DK

-. NA

46 **1960 Party Regularity**

Have you always voted for the same party or have you voted for different parties for president? Which party was that?

1. Always same party--Democratic
2. Always same party--Republican
3. Always same party--Other
4. Always same party--NA which party

5. Mostly same party--Democratic
6. Mostly same party--Republican
7. Mostly same party--Other
8. Mostly same party--NA which party

+. Different parties

9. DK
-. NA
0. Inappropriate--has never voted

Column Number **Code**

47 **1960 Ticket-Splitting**

How about the elections for state and local offices--did you vote a straight ticket or did you vote for candidates of different parties? Which party did you vote for?

1. Voted straight ticket--Democratic
2. Voted straight ticket--Republican
3. Voted straight ticket--Other party
4. Voted straight ticket--NA which party

5. Split ticket but mostly Democratic
6. Split ticket but mostly Republican
7. Split ticket but mostly for other party
8. Split ticket evenly

+. Refused to answer
9. DK
-. NA
0. Inappropriate--didn't vote in state and local elections

48 **1960 Social Class Identification**

There's quite a bit of talk these days about different social classes. Most people say they belong either to the middle class or to the working class. Do you even think of yourself as being in one of these classes?

1. Yes, middle class
2. Yes, working class

3. No, middle class
4. No, working class

5. No, upper class, refused to accept suggested classes
6. No, lower class, refused to accept suggested classes

7. Yes, but refused to say
8. No, did not accept the idea of classes, refused to classify self. I am American

Column Number	Code
49	1960 Party Contact You know that the parties try to talk to as many people as they can to get them to vote for their candidates. Did anybody from either one of the parties call you up or come around and talk to you during the campaign? 1. Yes, Democrat 2. Yes, Republican 3. Yes, Both 4. Yes, Other 5. No 9. DK -. NA
50	1960 Presidential Vote Presidential vote and preference of non-voters 1. Voted--Democratic 2. Voted--Republican 3. Voted--Other 4. Voted--Refused to say for whom 5. Voted--DK for whom 6. Voted--NA for whom 7. Non-voter--Democratic preference 8. Non-voter--Republican preference 9. Non-voter--Other preference 0. Non-voter--refused to state preference -. Non-voter--DK preference +. Non-voter--NA preference

Column Number   Code

51   1960 Congressional Vote

How about the vote for Congressman? Did you vote for a candidate for congress? Who did you vote for?

1. Mentions correct Democratic candidate
2. Mentions incorrect Democratic candidate
3. Mentions Democratic party only

4. Mentions correct Republican candidate
5. Mentions incorrect Republican candidate
6. Mentions Republican party only
7. Liberal
+. Mentions other party or candidate

8. Did not vote for congressman
9. DK who voted for
-. NA; refused to answer
0. Inappropriate--did not vote

52   1960 Church Attendance

Would you say you go to church regularly, often, seldom or never.

1. Regularly
2. Often
4. Seldom
5. Never

-. NA
0. Inappropriate, no church preference

Column Number	Code

53 **1960 Catholic Identification**

Based on the following two questions:

1. Would you say you feel pretty close to Catholics in general or that you don't feel much closer to them than you do to other kinds of people?
2. How much interest would you say you have in how Catholics as a whole are getting along in this country? Do you have a good deal of interest in them, some interest, or not much interest at all? Responses to the two questions were combined into a new code as follows.

	Q 1	Feel Close	Not Close	DK NA
	Good deal	1.	2.	2.
	Some	2.	3.	2.
Q 2	Not much	3.	4.	4.
	DK, NA	2.	3.	-.

Thus, Catholic Identification Index

1. High Identification
2.
3.
4. Low Identification

Column Number	Code
54	1960 Catholic Legitimacy

Based on the following two questions:

1. How do you feel about Catholic organizations trying to get Congress to pass laws that Catholics are interested in? Do you think it's all right for them to do that, or do you think they ought to stay out of that?
2. How do you feel about Catholic organizations trying to help certain candidates get elected? Do you think it's all right for them to do that, or do you think they ought to stay out of that?

Responses to the two questions were combined into a new code as follows:

		Q 1			
		All Right	Depends Pro-Con	Stay Out	DK NA
Q 2	All right	1.	3.	3.	3.
	Depends	2.	3.	4.	3.
	Stay Out	2.	4.	4.	3.
	NA, DK	2.	3.	3.	-.

Thus, Legitimacy Index

1. High Legitimacy: all right for group to engage in political activity.
2.
3.
4. Low Legitimacy: illegitimate for group to engage in political activity.

Column Number   Code

1964 Data

55   1964 Income

About what do you think your total income will be this year for yourself and your immediate family?

0. Under $1000
1. $1000-1999
2. $1000-2999
3. $3000-3999
4. $4000-4999
5. $5000-5999
6. $6000-7499
7. $7500-9999
8. $10,000-14,999
9. $15,000 or over

+. Refused
-. NA, DK

56   1964 Religion

1. Catholic
2. Orthodox
3. Jewish
4. Protestant-general
5. Protestant-Reformation era
6. Protestant-pietistic
7. Protestant-Neo-Fundamentalist
8. Non-traditional Christian
0. Non-Christian, agnostic, atheistic
9. DK, other
+. No preference
-. No answer

57   1964 Region

0. New England
1. Middle Atlantic
2. East North Central
3. West North Central
4. Solid South
5. Border States
6. Mountain States
7. Pacific States

Column Number	Code
58	1964 Occupation
59	1964 Education

58 **1964 Occupation**

What kind of work does the head of your household do?

1. Professional and Semi-professional
2. Self-employed businessmen and artisans; managers and officials
3. Clerical and sales; buyers, agents, brokers
4. Skilled and semi-skilled
5. Unskilled, service workers, farm laborers
6. Protective service
7. Unemployed
8. Farm operators
9. Retired
+. Housewife
0. Student
-. NA

59 **1964 Education**

0. None
1. 1-7 grades
2. 8 grades
3. 9-11 grades
4. 9-11 grades plus non-college training
5. 12 grades
6. 12 grades plus non-college training
7. Some college
8. Bachelor's Degree (4 years college), other higher degrees
9. Inappropriate, DK, NA

Column Number **Code**

60 **1964 Party Identification**

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, an Independent, a Democrat, or what? (If Rep or Dem) Would you call yourself a strong (R) (D) or a not very strong (R) (D)? (If Independent or Other) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?

1. Strong Democrat
2. Not very strong Democrat
3. Independent closer to Democrats
4. Independent
5. Independent closer to Republicans
6. Not very strong Republican
7. Strong Republican
0. A-political
8. Other, minor party and refused to say
9. NA

61 **1964 Party Regularity**

Have you always voted for the same party or have you voted for different parties for president? Which party was that?

1. Always same party--Democratic
2. Always same party-Republican
3. Always same party--Other
4. Always same party--NA which party

5. Mostly same party--Democratic
6. Mostly same party--Republican
7. Mostly same party--Other
8. Mostly same party--NA which party

9. DK

+. Different parties
-. NA
0. Inappropriate--has never voted

Column Number — Code

62

1964 Political Involvement

Based on question does R care about who wins, and on question about degree of interest in campaign

		care						
		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	8.	9.
interest	1.	1	2	3	2	3	3	3
	3.	3	3	4	4	5	4	4
	5.	4	5	7	6	8	7	7
	8.	3	4	6	5	8	8	9
	9.	3	4	6	5	8	9	9

1. Highly involved
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9. Lowly involved

63

1964 Presidential Vote

Presidential vote and preference of non-voters

1. Voted--Democratic
2. Voted--Republican
3. Voted--Other
4. Voted--Refused to say for whom
5. Voted--DK for whom
6. Non-voter--Democratic preference
7. Non-voter--Republican preference
8. Non-voter--Other preference
9. Non-voter--Refused to state preference
0. Non-voter--DK, NA preference
+. Voted, but not for president
-. DK, NA

Column Number | Code

64

1964 Congressional Vote

How about the vote for Congressman? Did you vote for a candidate for congress? Who did you vote for?

1. Mentions correct Democratic candidate
2. Mentions incorrect Democratic candidate
3. Mentions Democratic party only

4. Mentions correct Republican candidate
5. Mentions incorrect Republican candidate
6. Mentions Republican party only

+. Mentions other party or candidate

8. Did not vote for congressman
9. DK who voted for
-. NA, refused to answer
0. Inappropriate—did not vote

65

1964 Community Size

According to 1960 census.

1. Central cities of 12 largest SMSA's (including consolidated areas)
2. Central cities of other SMSA's
3. Suburban areas of 12 largest SMSA's (including consolidated areas)
4. Suburban areas of other SMSA's
5. Adjacent areas
6. Outlying areas

Column Number

Code

66

1964 Information Index

Based on correct answers to the following questions:

Have you heard what part of the country Senator Goldwater comes from?
Have you heard what part of the country President Johnson comes from?

Do you happen to know which party had the most Congressmen in Washington before the election?

Do you happen to know which party elected the most Congressmen in the election last month?

Do you happen to know the names of the candidates for Congress that ran in this district this November?

Do you happen to know if either one of these candidates is already in Congress? Which one?

0. No correct answers
1. One correct answer
2. Two correct answers
3. Three correct answers
4. Four correct answers
5. Five correct answers
6. Six correct answers
7. Seven correct answers
8. Eight correct answers
9. Nine correct answers

-. NA

67

1964 Area where grew up

0. New England
1. Middle Atlantic
2. East North Central
3. West North Central
4. Solid South
5. Border States
6. Mountain States
7. Pacific States

9. Foreign Born

Column Number

Code

68

1964 Campaign Contributions

Did you give any money or buy any tickets to help a party or candidate pay campaign expenses this year? Did you yourself give or was this some other member of the family household family?

1. Yes, R gave
2. Yes, R and other family member gave

3. Yes, Other family member gave

5. No, Did not give

7. Yes, Both self and other
8. DK
9. NA

69

1964 Letter Writing

Number of letters written to public officials (mostly congressmen) in past four years.

0. None
1. 1 or 2 letters
2. 3 or 4 letters
3. 5 or more letters

-. NA

Column Number **Code**

70 **1964 Campaign Rally Attendance**

Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, dinners or things like that?

0. No, attended none
1. 1 meeting
2. 2 meetings
3. 3 meetings
4. 4 meetings
5. 5 meetings
6. 6 meetings
7. 7-10 meetings
8. 11 or more meetings
9. Yes, attended meetings, NA, DK, how many

71 **1964 Social Class Identification**

There's quite a bit of talk these days about different social classes. Most people say they belong either to the middle class or to the working class. Do you even think of yourself as being in one of these classes?

1. Yes, middle class
2. Yes, working class

3. No, middle class
4. No, working class

5. No, upper class, refused to accept suggested classes
6. No, lower class, refused to accept suggested classes

7. Yes, but refused to say
8. No, did not accept the idea of classes, refused to classify self. I am American

+. Don't know
-. NA

Column Number	Code
72	1964 Perceived Social Class Mobility

Parents Social Class Perceived by Respondent

Respondents Perceived Social Class	Middle Class	Working Class	Other
Middle Class	1	2	9
Working Class	3	4	9
Other	9	9	9

1. Both parent and respondent middle class
2. Respondent middle class, parent working class
3. Respondent working class, parent middle class
4. Both parent and respondent working class
9. Other combination

Column Number — Code

73 — 1964 Perceived Partisan Inter-generational Change

	Perceived party of parents			
Respondents Party Identification	Both Dem. One Dem or One other	Both Rep. One Rep and One other	Both Ind. One Dem and One Rep	Other
Dem	1	2	3	0
Rep	7	9	8	0
Ind	4	6	5	0
Other	0	0	0	0

1. No change, respondent and parents democratic
2. Change, respondent Democratic and parents Republican
3. Respondent Democratic and parents mixed or independent

4. Respondent independent and parents democratic
5. Respondent independent and parents independent or mixed
6. Respondent independent and parents Republican

7. Respondent Republican and parents democratic
8. Respondent Republican and parents mixed or independent
9. Respondents Republican and parents Republican

0. Other

Column Number | Code

74 1964 Equal Job Opportunity Issue

Some people feel that if Negroes are not getting fair treatment in jobs the government in Washington ought to see to it that they do. Others feel that this is not the Federal governments business. How do you feel?

1. Favors and mind is made up
2. Favors and has some doubts

3. Depends

4. Opposes federal intervention and has some doubts
5. Opposes federal intervention and mind is made up

8. DK on the question of federal intervention
9. NA on the question of federal intervention

0. No interest

75 1964 School Integration Issue

In answer to question on school integration

1. Favors school integration and mind made up
2. Favors school integration and has some doubts or NA on certainty of position
3. Other, depends
4. Against school integration and has some doubts or NA on certainty of position
5. Against school integration and mind made up

8. DK on question of school integration
9. NA on question of school integration
0. No interest on question of school integration

Column Number   Code

76   **1964 Medical Care Issue**

Some people say the government in Washington ought to help people get doctors and hospital care at low cost, others say the government should not get into this. What is your position?

1. Favors medicare and mind made up
2. Favors medicare and some doubts or NA certainty of position
3. Other, depends
4. Against medicare and has some doubts
5. Against medicare and mind made up

8. DK on question of medicare
9. NA on question of medicare

0. No interest on question of medicare

77   **1964 Foreign Aid Issue**

Some say that we should give aid to other countries if they need help, while others say each country should make its own way the best it can. Which position is most like yours?

1. Favors giving aid and mind made up
2. Favors giving aid and has some doubts
3. Other, depends

4. Against giving aid and has some doubts
5. Against giving aid and mind made up

8. DK on question of giving aid
9. NA on question of giving foreign aid
0. No interest

Column Number | Code

78 1964 Race

1. White
2. Negro

+. Other, including Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Asians
-. NA

79 1964 Mass Media Usage Index

Post Election Interview Q. 1, 2, 3, and 4. Mass Media Usage Index. Summary of amount of attention the respondent gave to campaign coverage on television and radio, and in newspapers and magazines. Extra weight was given to those who reported listening to more than just a few programs and to those who read newspapers and magazines regularly.

1. Paid no attention to the campaign on any of the media
2. Very little attention (used only one of the media occasionally)
3. Little attention
4. Some attention
5. Some attention
6. Fairly attentive
7. Quite attentive
8. Very attentive
9. Highly attentive (used all four media regularly)

Above scores were computed from responses scored as follows:

	+2	+1	0	-
Q. 1	1, 2	3, 4, 7	5, 8	9
Q. 2	1	2, 3, 4	5, 8	9
Q. 3	1, 2	3, 4	5, 8	9
Q. 4	1	2, 3, 4	5, 8	9

Column Number	Code
80	1964 Most Important Media Source

Q. 5. Of all these ways of following the Campaign, which one would you say you got the most information from--newspapers, radio, television or magazines?

1. Newspapers
2. Radio
3. Television
4. Magazines
5. Newspapers and radio
6. Newspapers and television
7. Radio and television
8. Magazines and newspapers or radio or television

+. Any other combination (including combinations of 3 or 4 media)

9. DK
-. NA
0. INAP., R did not follow campaign on any medium

Political Behavior Laboratory

ASSIGNMENT 1

An Introduction to Survey Research

Assigned Reading:

Survey Research Center, "Surveys, Samples, and Coding," in E. Dreyer and W. Rosenbaum, eds., Political Opinion and Electoral Behavior (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1966) pp. 57-67.

Further reading in survey techniques:

Survey Research Center, A Manual for Coders, 1961.
Survey Research Center, Manual for Interviewers, 1960 revised.
Festinger and Katz, Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences, chaps. 1,5.
Herbert Hyman, Survey Design and Analysis, chap. 2.
Survey Research Center, "Sampling Error."
Claire Selltiz, et al., Research Methods in Social Relations, App. B.
Kahn and Cannell, The Dynamics of Interviewing.
Mildred Parten, Surveys, Polls and Samples.
Leslie Kish, Survey Sampling.

Although you will read about how to run a survey, the main purpose of this introductory session is to acquaint you with the major aspects of survey research and to enable you to retrieve information, not to collect new data. You will need to understand the techniques of data collection in order to interpret the punched cards, but beyond this we will not concern ourselves with data collection per se. The following required reading is intended to prepare you for the analysis you will do in the lab; the additional reading would provide more guidance for conducting a survey of your own.

Political Behavior Laboratory

ASSIGNMENT 2

Data Processing: Equipment and Operation

As part of this week's assignment you will visit the data processing center and inspect the facilities for high speed data processing. During this period you will learn to operate the equipment that you will use during the remainder of the course.

In the following exercises you will calculate percentages and enter the figures in the empty tables provided. At that point you will face the problem of describing or "talking about" the presentation of data. And since the correct presentation of data in tables and appropriate description are frequently difficult for students unfamiliar with quantitative analysis, we will discuss several examples of tables and description of the information contained in them. Basically we must express quantitative data in the tables and translate the data into verbal statements. First, we will discuss the correct form of table construction and second, we will take up the appropriate verbal statements for interpreting tables. In subsequent exercises many of the characteristics of the tables will be determined for you, but you will constantly have to interpret data in the tables and make statements about the meaning of the data and the relationships they represent.

The table reproduced here from The American Voter by A. Campbell et al. exhibits correct form (a rare feat in social science) and illustrates the lowest level of complexity we will consider. The interpretation of simpler distributions is quickly mastered.

TABLE 6.7. Relation of Strength of Party Identification to Interest in Campaigns, 1956

	Strong Party Identifiers	Weak Party Identifiers	Independents
Very much interested	42%	23%	25%
Somewhat interested	38	42	43
Not much interested	20	35	32
Total	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	624	651	415

First, we should notice some minor points of style.

1) Table number--this is the seventh table in chapter six.

2) Title—the title states that the table presents a relationship between two variables--strength of party identification and interest in the campaign. The two variables are fully and accurately labeled.

3) Percentages--the distributions are in percentages with the total percentage indicated to show that the distributions run down and not across. The percentage sign appears correctly with only the first percentage in each column and again with the total.

4) Number of cases—the number of cases for each column appear under the total percentage so the reader can assess the relative importance of the column and the relative significance of the distributions.

A great many statements could be made about the distributions in Table 6.7, and we will only illustrate the various possibilities not exhaust them.

I. A comparison of the relative frequency of highly interested party identifiers among strong and weak party identifiers:

"Forty-two per cent of the strong party identifiers were very much interested in the campaign and twenty-three per cent of the weak party identifiers were very much interested."

(or)

"Strong party identifiers are more likely to be highly interested in the campaign than are weak party identifiers or independents."

II. A comparison of interest within columns:

"Among strong party identifiers twice as many were very much interested in the campaign as were not much interested."

(or)

"Among independents 25 per cent were very much interested in the campaign and 32 per cent were not much interested."

Since the percentages are computed for the party identifiers and independents, that statements are made in terms of the attitudes or behavior of the party identifiers and independents. We cannot say (even though it is true) on the basis of these percentages in Table 6.7 that highly interested voters are more likely to be strong party identifiers than weak party identifiers or independents. We cannot make this statement on the basis of Table 6.7 because we would have to know the percentage of the total number of highly interested voters who are strong and weak party identifiers and independents, information which is not contained in the table. Whenever we make statements involving percentages or proportions, we must remember that these percentages are based on the total number of individuals in some specific group and they cannot be used to refer to any other group. In Table 6.7, the percentages are calculated on the basis of the numbers of individuals who are party identifiers or independents, not on the basis of the numbers of individuals with various levels of interest in the campaign. Therefore, while we can say that 42 per cent of the strong party identifiers are highly interested in the campaign, we cannot say that 42 per cent of the highly interested voters are strong party identifiers. The 42 per cent was calculated on the basis of the 624 strong party identifiers in the sample, not on the basis of all highly interested individuals, a figure we do not know from looking at Table 6.7. The most common error in the interpretation of tables is comparison of percentages which are not comparable.

It is not uncommon to present findings in tables which are not as complete as Table 6.7. Another example from The American Voter, Table 4.6, gives much less information.

Each percentage in Table 4.6 is taken from a distribution of partisan attitudes which would include at least the percentage of consistent attitudes. A more complete table would also show the total percentage and the number of cases on which the percentages are based. Although the table is not misleading, no mention is made of the missing cases: all non-Catholics, all those with one or no attitudes, and the other occupational categories.

Table 4.6. Proportion of Catholics Showing Some Conflict of Partisan Attitude by Occupation and Level of Attitude, 1956

	Two Partisan Attitudes	Three Partisan Attitudes	Four Partisan Attitudes	Five Partisan Attitudes
Blue Collar	15%	45%	45%	74%
Business or Professional	50%	47%	59%	85%

The most important relationship in Table 4.6 can be stated in this way:

"Business and professional Catholics consistently have a higher proportion of individuals with conflicting attitudes than blue collar Catholics."

(or)

"At each level of attitude holding, business and professional Catholics are more likely to have inconsistent attitudes than blue collar Catholics."

Simpler statements may be made about these distributions, and the statements take the form of those made about Table 6.7.

"Of the blue collar workers who are Catholics and who have two partisan attitudes 15 per cent have conflicting attitudes."

"Among Catholics with four or five partisan attitudes more business and professional people than blue collar workers have conflicting attitudes."

We cannot say on the basis of the data in Table 4.6 that among the Catholics with two partisan attitudes those with conflicting attitudes are much more likely to be business and professional people than blue collar workers. We cannot say this because in this category it is likely that far more Catholics are blue collar workers so that 15 per cent represents more cases than 50 per cent among the business and professional people. But we simply do not know from these figures. We are not supplied with the number of cases, and the percentages would have to be computed another way to make that comparison.

An important aspect of presenting survey data and testing hypotheses with these data is the use of "controls." Controls are often quite complex in practice but their purpose is quite simple--to hold one or more variables constant. In Table 4.6 the distributions are controlled for the number of partisan attitudes held. The reason for this is that an individual with five partisan attitudes has more chances to hold an attitude that conflicts with the others than an individual with only two partisan attitudes. This alone would probably not be reason enough for controlling on the number of partisan attitudes, but there is the additional suspicion that the number of attitudes held might be related to occupation. Since we would not want to conclude that business and professional people held more conflicting attitudes if this were only a function of their holding more attitudes, we control the number of attitudes. Then we are in a position to say that regardless of the number of partisan attitudes held, a difference exists.

Usually in interpreting tables we include reference to the controls, but not always. Sometimes it is so obvious that controls were necessary and used that reference to them is unnecessary.

When writing about distributions most of us find it impossible to continue to make complete statements as illustrated above. This is an unbearable stylistic burden. The decisions we make about style may greatly effect the content and validity of our statements. Sensitivity to the data and to the appropriate interpretations of them is the best guide in stylistic innovation.

Political Behavior Laboratory

ASSIGNMENT 3

The Composition of the Parties

Assigned Reading:
Miller, Warren, "The Political Behavior of the Electorate," in E. Dreyer and W. Rosenbaum, eds., Political Opinion and Electoral Behavior (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1966) pp. 82-102.

There are at least four common ways of defining party followers in the analysis of survey research data. One, and the most common, is to identify Republicans and Democrats on the basis of a single vote--usually the vote for the highest office on the ticket. A second, similar indication of party is the way one usually votes. A third measure is party identification, i.e., how an individual thinks of himself, and finally a fourth possibility, not often used, is designating an individual's attitudes on issues as a Republican or Democratic position.

The way an analyst decides to define or operationalize the category of partisan or party follower will influence his findings about the category. There may be real differences between the individuals who voted for Kennedy and the individuals who in 1960 thought of themselves as Democrats, and using one method or the other for designating party followers would lead us to quite different conclusions about Democrats. By most standards neither definition is perfect in that it covers precisely all the different meanings associated with "Democrat." With most of the terms we use in political science there is no avoiding the problem of selecting operational definitions which do not fully cover all the meanings and richness of the category we plan to investigate.

At least we can be clear and explicit about the choices we are forced to make in defining our terms. In this way we can avoid pointless disputes that are caused merely by two differing definitions of the same category. What we cannot so easily avoid are discussions of the appropriateness of particular operational definitions. On the one hand we must attempt to discover operational definitions that are sufficiently close to the general meaning of the category to satisfy the other individuals interested in our analysis, and on the other hand we do not care to become involved in endless quibbles over the absolute appropriateness of particular operational definitions.

In the selection by Warren Miller, "The Political Behavior of the Electorate," assigned with this exercise, Democrats and Republicans are defined according to vote for President in 1956 and in the exercises below you will use party identification as your operational definition. Using the 1956 data, Tables 3.1 and 3.2 illustrate the implications of these different operational definitions of partisans. These percentages show that while a majority of both Protestants and Catholics supported

Eisenhower, there are substantial differences in the party identification of the two religious groups. Both distributions reveal the tendency of Protestants to be more Republican than Catholics. If we were only interested in establishing the partisan tendency of Protestants and Catholics, relative to each other, it would not matter how we measured partisanship in 1956 since both measures show the same pattern. But if we were interested in finding out whether Catholics are more likely to be Republicans or Democrats, for example, it would make a difference since the definition of partisanship using the 1956 vote for President shows a majority are Republicans and the definition using party identification shows that over 70 per cent are Democrats. Similarly, if we were interested in the magnitude of the differences between Protestants and Catholics in partisan tendency, the choice of operational definitions would influence our findings.

Table 3.1. The Distribution of Partisanship for Protestants and Catholics in 1956, using Party Identification as the Operational Definition of Partisanship

Party Identification	Protestants	Catholics
Democrats	56%	71%
Republicans	44	29
Total	100%	100%
Number of Cases	946	265

Table 3.2. The Distribution of Partisanship for Protestants and Catholics in 1956, using Presidential Vote as the Operational Definition of Partisanship

Presidential Vote	Protestants	Catholics
Democratic	35%	45%
Republican	65	55
Total	100%	100%
Number of Cases	884	297

There is no simple, correct way to select operational definitions and it is more important to be aware of the implications of using different definitions. Theoretical considerations will play a part of course. In his discussion Miller's use of voting for his definition of partisanship permits him to emphasize the variation in behavior in three Presidential elections. In the following exercise we will use party identification in order to investigate the stability of partisanship. Practical considerations may also influence one's choice of definitions. For example, in order to include 1948 data, Miller had to use Presidential voting because party identification was not asked of respondents in the first study.

In this exercise you must cope with the problem of defining Democrats and Republicans in order to be able to say something descriptive about the followings of the two parties.

Since you must analyze party identifiers, choices must be made as to exactly which individuals you will treat as Democrats and Republicans. Frequently these decisions have as much impact on the findings as the decisions on which measure to use. Your range of alternatives has been greatly reduced by the questions and coding of the original analysts. One of the most persistant difficulties in secondary analysis is finding acceptable operational definitions within data collected and coded for other purposes.

For 1952, 1956, 1960, and 1964 you will find in the code section a party identification code something like the following:

1. "Strong" Democratic party identifier
2. Democratic party identifier
3. Independent leaning to the Democratic Party
4. Independent
5. Independent leaning to the Republican Party
6. Republican party identifier
7. "Strong" Republican party identifier

8. Don't know
0. Apolitical, I'm nothing
9. Not ascertained

The problem is to determine exactly which punches (which numbers) are to be treated as Democrats and Republicans. Some punches are easily dismissed: "4", "Independents who do not lean to either party" can be ignored, and "8, 0, and 9" cannot be assigned to either party. The remaining choices are not so easy.

There are three possibilities:

1) "Strong" party identifiers only ("1" and "7" punches)
2) Party identifiers only ("1,2" and "6,7" punches)
3) Party identifiers plus the independents who lean ("1,2,3" and "5,6,7" punches)

Which of these three alternative definitions would you prefer for a general description of Democrats and Republicans?

☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3

Why? For general descriptive purposes what difference does it make?

We should also notice a practical consideration apart from the substantive meaning of the definitions. We need to create categories in such a way that we have large numbers of cases to work with and can keep our attention focused on a few categories. The following two tables, 3.3 and 3.4, illustrate the complexities of ungrouped and grouped distributions, using occupation as an example. Of course hundreds of occupations have been reduced to the relatively few categories in Table 3.3 during the coding operation, but still there are an unwieldly large number for easy visual inspection and analysis.

Table 3.3. The Distribution of Ungrouped Occupation Categories for Heads of Households for Democrats and Republicans in 1964

	Ungrouped (A) (D)	Democrats	Republicans
(1)	Professional, semi-professional	9%	10%
(2)	Self-employed	14	20
(3)	Clerical & Sales	10	11
(4)	Skilled & semi-skilled	32	20
(5)	Unskilled	11	4
(6)	Protective Service (B)	2	2
(7)	Unemployed (C)	2	1
(8)	Farm Operators	6	5
(9)	Retired	13	21
(+)	Housewife	2	6
(0)	Student	-	-
	Total	101%	100%

Tables 3.3 and 3.4 are presented to demonstrate the advantages of "grouping" or "collapsing" categories in data analysis. Among the disadvantages of ungrouped data demonstrated in 3.3 are: (A) the sheer number of categories which the researcher is required to include in a thorough discussion, thus making generalizations difficult; (B) the lack of theoretical significance of some categories, such as "protective service," which remain separate; (C) the very small number of cases in several categories which can lead to trivial and confusing statements; and (D) the possibility of overlooking or misinterpreting significant relationships which are scattered throughout a large table.

Table 3.4. The Distribution of Grouped Occupation Categories for Heads of Households for Democrats and Republicans in 1964

Grouped (B)	Democrats	Republicans
White Collar (A)	33%	41%
Blue Collar	45	26
Farmer	6	5
Housewife-Retired (C)	15	27
Student-Unemployed (C)	2	1
Total	101%	100%

The data in 3.3 are grouped in Table 3.4. This grouping offers us the following advantages: (A) summarizing several categories within a single category of common theoretical significance, such as "white collar" or "blue collar"; (B) noticeably reducing the number of categories with which the researcher must contend in his analysis and also reducing the number of categories with very small numbers of cases. On the other hand, a disadvantage of such grouping is: (C) the possibility of combining groups with such different characteristics that the category becomes analytically meaningless, for example, grouping housewives and retired people together, or students and the unemployed.

In many tables there will be instructions on how to operationalize the categories although in some cases the choice is yours. To save space the columns and punches to be used on your analysis deck will be indicated in this way: 17/1,2,3 which refers to column 17, punches 1,2,3. In the following table, Table 3.5, the 1952 Democrats are defined as 7/1,2 which means that 1952 party identification is found in column 7 of your analysis deck and punches 1 and 2 are designated Democrats.

The detailed information on income is not exactly the same for 1952 and 1964, but in order to make readily meaningful comparisons you must employ comparable categories in both years. The choice of how to distribute and categorize income in Table 3.5 is yours.

Table 3.5. The Distribution of Income for Democrats and Republicans in 1952 and 1964

	1952		1964	
Income 1/ and 55/	Democrats 7/1,2	Republicans 7/6,7	Democrats 60/1,2	Republicans 60/6,7
Total				
n =				

Disregarding Democrats and Republicans for the moment, what is the nature of the change in income from 1952 to 1964?

Looking only at 1952 how would you describe the distribution of income for Democrats and Republicans?

Does the same description of Republicans and Democrats apply in 1964?

How would you summarize the main patterns of relationships in Table 3.5?

How do your conclusions about Table 3.5 compare with Miller's findings on income and partisanship?

Table 3.6. The Distribution of Religious Affiliation for Democrats and Republicans in 1952 and 1964

	1952		1964	
Religion 2/ and 56/	Democrats 7/1,2	Republicans 7/6,7	Democrats 60/1,2	Republicans 60/6,7
Total				
n =				

What are the major differences between Democrats and Republicans in religious composition?____

____

____

Were there any changes in either party between 1952 and 1964? Would you call them important changes?______________________________________

____

Methodological questions.

Without giving you any choice in the matter each table has specified in which direction the percentages must be computed—down in the case of these tables. What difference does it make in interpreting Table 3.1 to have the percentages computed down the columns rather than across the rows?____

____

____

____

Why not use the raw frequencies rather than percentages?________________

____

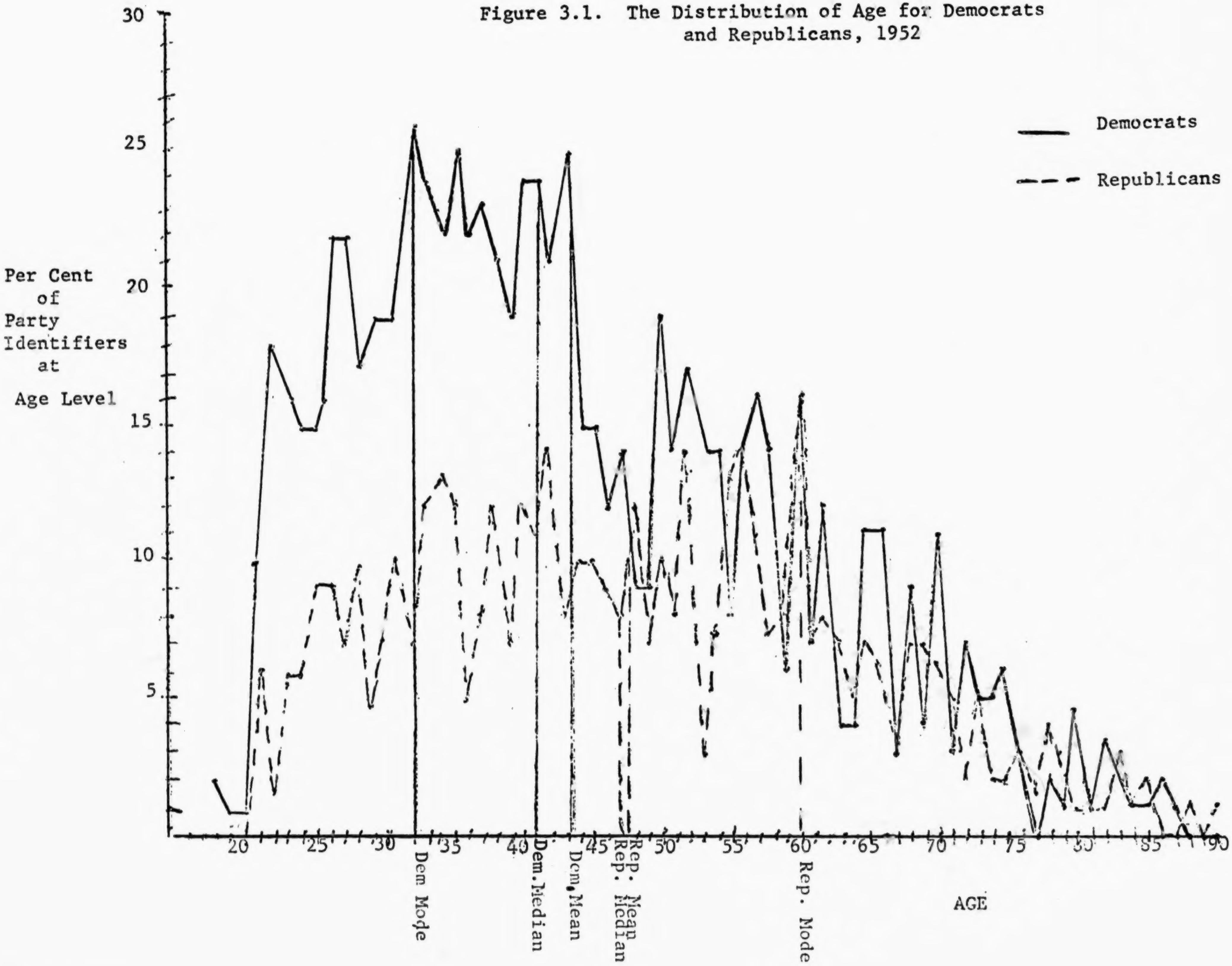
____

____

Statistical analysis--mode, median, mean.

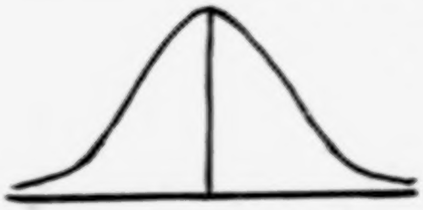
In order to describe quantitative data we use a variety of measures and definitions to summarize aspects of the data. In this section we will briefly discuss three measures of central tendency of a distribution, measures which give the value of midpoints according to various definitions. The first measure of central tendency, and one not often used, is the mode, the category or range of values having the greatest frequency of cases. In Figure 3.1 the modal age for Democrats is thirty-two and for Republicans the mode is sixty. The median is the middle value of the distribution where the cases are ranked from lowest to highest, that is, one-half of the cases are above the value and one-half are below. For Democrats the median is forty-one years of age and for Republicans it is forty-seven.

Figure 3.1. The Distribution of Age for Democrats and Republicans, 1952

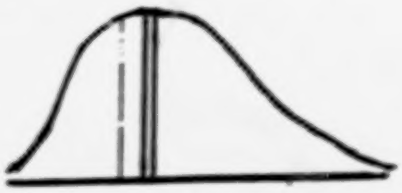


The third measure of central tendency, the mean, is the value commonly called the "average," the total value for the distribution divided by the number of cases. The mean of the Democratic distribution is a little under forty-four and the mean value for the Republicans is a little under forty-eight.

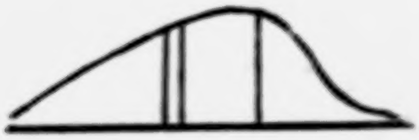
In a symmetrical, single-peaked distribution the mode, median and mean coincide as shown at right, but in Table 3.7 neither the Democratic nor Republican distribution is symmetrical.



The Democratic distribution is skewed to the left, i.e., the cases are bunched to the left in the fashion illustrated here.



The skewed left distribution puts the mode to the left of the median and the mean. The Republican distribution has a different shape like shown at right. The mode is far to the right of the mean and median. You should observe that the change in value of a few cases could alter the mode in either distribution quite dramatically, but adding or subtracting a few values would not influence the median or mean significantly.



Political Behavior Laboratory

ASSIGNMENT 4

The Composition of the Parties (cont.)

Assigned Reading:

Angus Campbell and Warren Miller, "The Motivational Basis of Straight and Split Ticket Voting," in Edward C. Dreyer and Walter A. Rosenbaum, Political Opinion and Electoral Behavior, pp. 295-309.

In the assigned reading several variables are introduced as controls, i.e., these variables are "held constant" or their effects removed from the variables in which we are interested. In general, we control for a variable when we suspect that it is associated in some way with one or both of the other variables being examined and thus may have some effect on the distributions found. For example, Campbell and Miller control for the type of ballot marking procedures in the states in the expectation that in "single choice" states there will be more straight ticket voting than in "multiple choice" states regardless of other factors. They also control for region by eliminating the South, since the one party system in the Southern states might be expected to affect the tendency to vote a straight ticket.

Generally there are three results from using controls in the analysis of quantitative data. First, a control variable may increase the magnitude of relationship between two variables. Second, a control variable may reduce the relationship between two variables to insignificance, i.e., eliminate an apparently interesting relationship. Third, a control variable may not alter the magnitude of relationship at all and demonstrate its insignificance as a variable in the overall pattern.

In the exercise below, a control for regional differences between South and North will be introduced in the examination of the composition of party followings. We might expect that controlling for region will make differences in our distributions since Southerners contribute disproportionately to the Democrats in our sample and at the same time we know that the South differs from the North in economic structure and religious composition--factors very closely related to the variables used to describe the parties in Assignment 3. Unless we control for region, we may be describing Democrats partly in terms of characteristics which are associated with being a "Southerner" rather than those associated with being a "Democrat."

The usefulness and desirability of controlling for other factors is limited by several practical considerations. For one thing, the verbal description of the relationships in a table with only one or two factors controlled becomes extremely complicated and difficult to grasp. In practice when we control relationships, we concentrate on subparts of the distributions generated and usually do not attempt a statement of the overall relationship. A second limitation is the decreasing number of cases in each cell of the table as we increase the number of controlled factors. This is a problem because percentages become less reliable as the number of cases on which they are based becomes smaller. Generally we do not compute percentages for distributions with fewer than twenty cases. The advantages of controlling are lost if we end up with very few cases in the cells we want to compare under controlled conditions.

When controls are introduced, the analyst faces even more severe demands for collapsing categories than in uncontrolled distributions in order to keep the analysis as simple as possible and to conserve the numbers of cases. In the following exercises one purpose is to examine the party followers in the North and South separately in the belief that the political culture of the South is so unlike the North that all relationships should be considered with region controlled. The "pure" or "solid South" would include few states, but border states like West Virginia and Kentucky are included in order to increase the number of cases available for analysis in the "South" category. If we looked only at four or five states like Alabama and Mississippi, there would be too few cases to distribute.

When we introduce two control variables like region and education, a second difficulty arises. If the two control variables are related as region and education are, certain cells like college educated Southerners are even more likely to be left with too few cases. Some combinations of controls are seldom used because of the unavoidable disappearance of many cells. For example, if education and occupation are used together as controls, in most populations grade school educated professionals are non-existant as are highly educated farmers, manual laborers, clerks, salesmen, and service workers.

For some purposes, however, we will control with combinations of variables when we know that most of the cells created by controlling will not be available for analysis. Sometimes we use controls merely to eliminate the few "deviant cases" like college educated unskilled laborers and professionals with little or no schooling. If we wanted to analyze the political behavior of the "middle class suburbanite," as a pure type, we might operationally define the category with many control variables all highly related to one another. For example, we would begin with everyone living in a suburb and then control for education (at least a high school graduate to qualify), for income (over $7,500), occupation (professional, managerial or business position), home ownership, car ownership, marital status, and perhaps more variables in order to get a single category of cases.

Table 4.1. The Distribution of Income and Religion for Democrats and Republicans controlled for Region in 1952 and 1964

	1952				1964			
	South 4/4,5		Non-South 4/0-3,6,7		South 57/4,5		Non-South 57/0-3,6-8	
Income 1/ and 55/	Democrats 7/1,2	Republicans 7/6,7	Democrats 7/1,2	Republicans 7/6,7	Democrats 60/1,2	Republicans 60/6,7	Democrats 60/1,2	Republicans 60/6,7
Under $1000	15%	14%	6%	5%				
$1000 - 2999	32	43	24	21				
$3000 - 4999	32	22	44	36				
$5000 - 7499	14	10	20	22				
$7500 - 9999	3	3	3	7				
$10000 and over	1	3	1	7				
DK, NA	3	4	2	2				
Total	100%	99%	100%	100%				
Religion 2/ and 56/								
Protestant	91%	91%	52%	82%				
Catholic	5	1	38	16				
Jewish	*	-	7	-				
None, Other, DK, NA	4	7	2	2				
*Less than .5%								
Total	100%	99%	99%	100%				
n =	317	69	510	408				

Looking back at tables 3.5 and 3.6 from Assignment 3 what difference does it make in the 1964 distributions of income and religion to control for region in Table 4.1?

Looking only at 1964 does the control for region introduce greater differences between North and South on income or on religion? In other words, regardless of the strength of the original relationship which pattern, income or religion, is changed most by the control for region?

Are Democrats and Republicans more alike in the South or in the non-South?

As of 1964 how would you describe Southern Democrats on these variables?

How would you describe Northern Democrats in 1964?

Taking into account the regional differences how would you describe the changes among Democrats from 1952 to 1964?

What about the changes among Republicans between 1952 and 1964?

Table 4.2. The Distribution of Income for Democrats and Republicans Controlled for Region and Occupation in 1964

	White Collar Occupations 58/ 1-3			
	South 57/4,5		Non-South 57/ 0-3, 6-8	
Income 55/	Democrats 60/1,2	Republicans 60/6,7	Democrats 60/1,2	Republicans 60/6,7
Total				
n =				

	Blue Collar Occupations 58/ 4-6			
	South 57/4,5		Non-South 57/ 0-3, 6-8	
Income 55/	Democrats 60/1,2	Republicans 60/6,7	Democrats 60/1,2	Republicans 60/6,7
Total				
n =				

Table 4.2 controls the relationship between partisanship and income with two factors region and occupation. One of the purposes of controlling is to permit statements about relationships in terms of their independence of third factors. We would like to be able to say, if true, that in the North there are no differences on income between Democrats and Republicans when we control for occupation, or to put it another way, on income Democrats and Republicans appear alike at each level of occupation. If this were so, we could say that the apparent relationship between partisanship and income is a function of the relationship between partisanship and occupation. By the way is this true?____________

Does the control for occupation make a greater difference in the South or non-South?____________ How would you describe the difference?

By checking the location of the largest numbers of Democrats in the columns of Table 4.2 how would you describe Democrats in the South and North? In other words, what are most Democrats in the South and in the North like when described by these variables?____________

Describe the Republicans in the same way.____________

How would you describe the overall pattern of relationship in Table 4.2? Controlling for region and occupation we find that____________

Is it possible to interpret the relationships in Table 4.2 causally? How would you describe the causal patterns if any, in Table 4.2?______________

____

____

____

____

____

If in investigating party followers further you could control for two other variables and distribute a third, which two would you control and what would you distribute for Democrats and Republicans? How would you collapse the categories?____

____ Show your choices in the following blank table by putting the headings and title in to indicate what you would control and distribute. Do not compute the data for the table.

Table 4.4.

	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans

Statistical Analysis--comparison of means

In Assignment 3, we found that the mean age of Republicans in 1952 was 47.6 while the mean age of Democrats was 43.6. On the basis of our calculations we can say with a fair degree of certainty that the Republicans in the sample are, on the average, four years older than their Democratic counterparts, though, of course, errors in reporting ages and coding errors might have been present. We are, however, not really very interested in the relative ages of those 1283 respondents who make up the Democrats and Republicans in the sample; rather we would like to be able to make statements about *all* Republicans and Democrats in the United States. In other words, we want to be able to *generalize* from the sample to the population from which the sample was drawn.

In order to make such generalizations the sample upon which we base our statements must be "representative" of the general population; all the various characteristics and combinations of characteristics of the individuals in the population ought to be present in the sample in approximately the same proportions as in the population itself. The best means for drawing a representative sample is some variant of the random sampling procedure, such as the cluster sample used by the Survey Research Center and described in Assignment 1, in which every individual in the population has a known chance of being selected for inclusion in the sample. Even with the best sampling procedures, however, it happens that by chance alone some individuals with certain characteristics, such as older Republicans, will be over represented or under represented in the sample. Findings, based on the sample are subject to *sampling error*. Thus, while the mean ages of Democrats and Republicans in the sample are our best estimates of the mean ages of all Democrats and Republicans in the population, the possibility of sampling error must be taken into account before we can safely generalize from the sample to the population.

There are a variety of statistical methods for assessing sampling error, all based on the *probability* of one's sample estimate being close to the true value for the population. One such method is to establish a "confidence interval," a range of values around the sample value within which at a given level of probability we can be confident that the true population value falls. For example, the confidence interval at the 95 per cent level of probability for the mean age of Republicans in our sample is 47.6 ± 1.4. In other words, given a random sample of this size 95 per cent of the time we would be correct in saying that the mean age of all Republicans in the population falls somewhere in the range of 46.2 to 49.0 years.

We might also like to compare the mean ages of Democrats and Republicans in the total population, to say that Republicans tend to be somewhat older than Democrats. However, it is possible that our sample over represents older Republicans or under represents older Democrats. There may, in fact, be no difference between the mean ages of Democrats and Republicans in the population as a whole. A "difference of means" test can be employed to determine the probability of drawing a sample of Democrats and Republicans with as large a difference in mean ages as observed in our sample, if in fact there were no difference between the true population means. Using such a test we find that the differences between the mean ages of Republicans and Democrats is significant at the .001 level of probability. Thus we can say that the probability of drawing a sample of this size with differences in the means of the subgroups of this magnitude, when in fact there are no differences in the population, is less than one in a thousand.

Whenever we talk about "statistically significant differences" we mean that at a given level of probability, we can be confident that the observed differences are not due solely to sampling error. This says nothing about the magnitude of the differences or their "substantive significance," only that there is some difference which is not due to chance factors in the sampling procedure. In addition the larger the sample, the closer it approximates the population from which it was drawn, and it becomes easier to find differences of very small magnitude which are statistically significant. With a very large sample it might be possible to find a statistically significant difference of perhaps one year between the mean ages of Republicans and Democrats but we might hesitate to say that such a difference was either interesting or important. A very common misinterpretation in social science research is the confusion of statistical significance with substantive significance. The simple analysis applied here to a comparison of means can be extended to a comparison of all percentages of the type you are computing for the tables.

Political Behavior Laboratory

ASSIGNMENT 5

The Comparison of Partisans and Independents

Assigned Reading:
Burdick, E. and Brodbeck. American Voting Behavior, chaps. 4, 17.

There are two commonly held images of the independent voter. One found in newspaper editorials and the literature of non-partisan political organizations is the image of the rational, well-informed, public spirited citizen, and the other found in most descriptions of the electorate written by social scientists in the past twenty years is the image of an ignorant, indifferent, narrow minded boob.

The second view is expressed by Talcott Parsons in the assigned reading, but it would be incorrect to infer that he is unhappy with this state of affairs. Why is Parsons less than totally pessimistic over the ignorant and indifferent independent?

How does Robert Agger's view of the nature of independents differ from Parsons?

Agger's data are taken from the 1952 Survey Research Center national sample. Do the data on occupation in tables 5.1 and 5.2 reveal any changes between 1952 and 1964?

Table 5.1. The Distribution of Occupation for Democrats, Independents, and Republicans Controlled for Region in 1952

	Non-South 4/0-3,6,7			South 4/4,5		
Occupation 6/	Democrats 7/1,2	Independents 7/3,4,5	Republicans 7/6,7	Democrats 7/1,2	Independents 7/3,4,5	Republicans 7,6,7
White Collar (1,2,3)	26%	33%	41%	27%	40%	17%
Blue Collar (4,5,6)	50	40	31	38	40	38
Farmers (8)	9	10	8	15	7	25
Housewives, Retired (9,+)	13	12	17	17	9	13
Students, Unemployed (7,0)	1	2	1	1	0	6
Not Ascertained (-)	1	3	2	2	4	1
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
n =	510	311	408	317	57	69

Using Table 5.2 how would you describe independents in 1964 in relationship to Democrats and Republicans?

How would you evaluate the operational definition of independents used in Table 5.2?

What other defining characteristics might be taken into account in trying to categorize "Independents"?

How would you operationally define Parson's use of independent?

Does the operational definition of independents used in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 coincide with the definition of independent in Parson's article?

Among the Democratic and Republican partisans and the independents there are habitual non-voters (as shown by the distribution of party regularity). What are the reasons which could be offered for omitting these from the ranks of the partisans and independents?

What reasons could you give for leaving them in the categories?

Table 5.2. The Distribution of Occupation and Party Regularity for Democrats, Republicans and Independents Controlled for Region in 1964

	South 57/4,5			Non-South 57/ 0-3, 6-8		
Occupation 58/	Democrats 60/1,2	Independents 60/3,4,5	Republicans 60/6,7	Democrats 60/1,2	Independents 60/3,4,5	Republicans 60/6,7
Total						
Party Regularity 61/						
Total						
n =						

How would you compare the independents of the South and North vis-a-vis the partisans?______________________________

____

____

____

____

What is the relative proportion of independents in the South?____________ North?____________ What do these findings imply for the electoral systems of the North and South?______________________________

____

____

____

Statistical Analysis--correlation.

The statistical discussion in Assignment 4 briefly treated a group of tests known generally as tests of significance. It was noted that these tests indicate the probability of an observed relationship occurring by chance alone; they tell us nothing about the strength or importance of the relationship. In this section measures of association or correlation, which measure the degree or strength of relationship between two variables, will be discussed.

Whenever we say that there is a relationship between two variables we generally mean that they vary together, or are correlated with each other. As the value of one variable increases, the other also increases; as one decreases, the other decreases. If the two variables were perfectly correlated, all cases, or data points, for these two variables would fall exactly on a straight line, as shown at right.

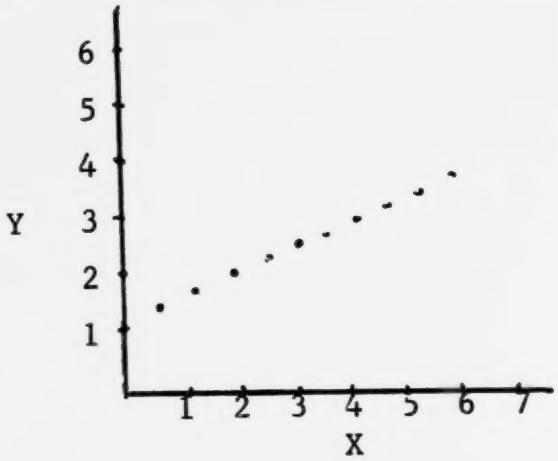


Figure 1.

In addition it would be possible to predict one variable from the other. For example, if we knew that an individual had a score of 2 on variable X, we could predict accurately his score on variable Y (which in Figure 1, would also be 2).

Figure 1 illustrates a perfect positive correlation between two variables. Negative correlations have the same characteristics except that the slope of the line is negative, i.e., it slants in the opposite direction, or put another way, as one variable increases the other decreases. A perfect negative correlation is shown in Figure 2. Again the data points fall on a straight line and, knowing an individual's score on variable X, his score on Y could be accurately predicted. (Note that if we simply reversed the order of the scores of one variable along one axis the sign of the correlation would be reversed.)

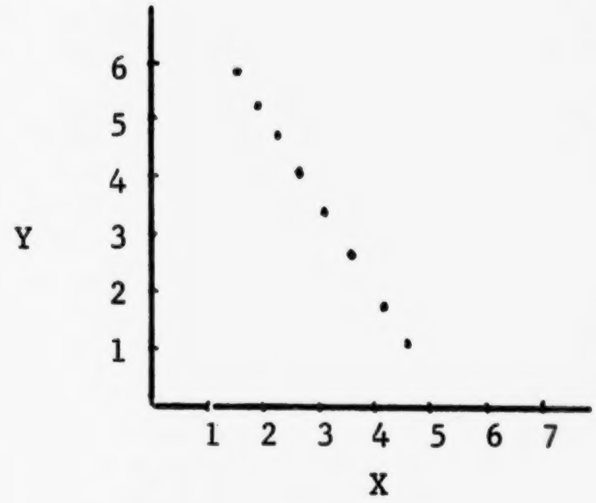
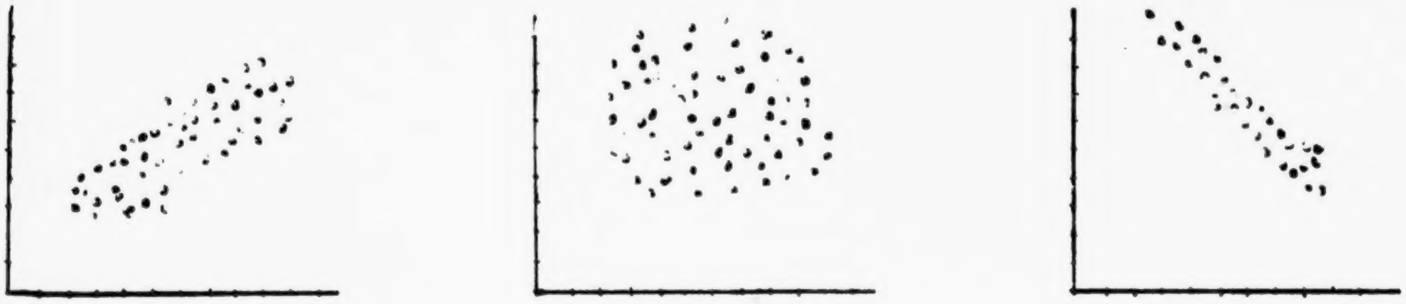


Figure 2.

Perfect correlations are rare, and virtually non-existant in the social sciences; however, we can use the degree of departure from a perfect correlation as a means of measuring the relative strength of the relationship between two variables. Most measures of association and correlation coefficients measure the amount of dispersion of the data points around the "best fitting straight line" (the degree to which the data points form a straight line). Such a measure also is an indication of the degree of accuracy with which one variable can be predicted from the other.

Using scattergrams, we can show how correlations of varying strengths would look pictorially:



3a.
Moderate
Positive
Correlation

3b.
No
Relationship

3c.
Strong
Negative
Correlation

Figure 3.

Most measures of association and correlation coefficients have definite upper and lower limits, representing perfect positive and negative correlations. A perfect positive correlation is given a value of +1.0, a perfect negative correlation -1.0. A zero correlation indicates an absence of a relationship, as shown in Figure 3. The coefficients varying between +1.0 and -1.0 are therefore interpretable: the closer the coefficient approximates +1.0 or -1.0, the stronger the relationship; as the values approach zero (with either positive or negative signs) weaker relationships are indicated.

The best known of the correlational measures is Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient. In order to use this measure correctly, however, we must assume that the variables we want to use are continuous scales. Only rarely in political science are we able to measure our variables with the precision required for a continuous scale; usually, however, we are able to rank scores, that is, we can say that a certain score is higher or lower than another though we may not know how much higher or lower. Other measures of association have been developed to handle this type of ordinal scale or rank order data. One such measure, which requires only ordinal data, is Kendall's _tau beta_ which will be illustrated below using the relationship between party identification and party regularity as an example.

We might reasonably expect that individuals who identify themselves as Democrats would be likely to vote for the Democratic party more regularly than those who identify themselves as Independents or as Republicans. Thus we might hypothesize that the more pro-Democratic is an individual's party identification, the more pro-Democratic will be his voting choices, or that party identification is associated with (varies with) voting behavior.

The cross tabulation tables for this relationship using raw frequencies instead of percentages is shown in Table 5.3. Some idea of the nature of this relationship can be gained from looking directly at Table 5.3. The greater the proportion of cases falling in the cells on the diagonal, the stronger is the relationship between the two variables.

Another way of presenting the data on this relationship is by means of a scattergram, as in Figure 4. Again, the pattern of the data points, the degree to which they approximate a straight line, gives an indication of the strength of the association between party identification and party regularity.

Neither the cross tabulation table nor the scattergram, however, provide a precise, easily interpretable measure of the correlation involved. A summary statistic such as Kendall's tau beta can serve this purpose.

Tau beta is a rank order correlation coefficient requiring only ordinal data, and takes into account tied scores. Because of these characteristics it is well suited to the type of data available to political scientists: ordinal scale variables with relatively few categories and consequently, large numbers of "ties" in scores. (For

Table 5.3. The Distribution of Party Regularity by Party Identification for 1964
(Raw Frequencies Only)

Party Regularity	Strong Democrats	Weak Democrats	Independent Democrats	Independents	Independent Republicans	Weak Republicans	Strong Republicans	Total
Always Vote Republican	5	7	3	3	15	85	110	228
Mostly Vote Republican	1	3	0	0	1	3	14	22
Vote for Different Parties	53	128	64	70	49	84	37	485
Mostly Vote Democratic	8	7	2	0	0	1	1	19
Always Vote Democratic	284	158	35	9	5	7	1	499
Total	351	303	104	82	70	180	163	1253

example, in Table 5.3 we see that 228 individuals "always vote Republican"; they therefore have "tied scores" on the variable of party regularity. Any cases falling in the same category on a variable are "tied" or have tied scores on that variable.) Essentially tau beta measures the degree to which a high rank on one variable is associated with a high rank on the other. Like many other correlation coefficients, it varies between +1 and -1, with zero indicating the absence of a relationship.

Tau beta computed for the above relationship has a value of .645, relatively high by social science standards. Although we will not discuss the details of the computation of tau beta here, in the following exercises tau betas for various relationships will be provided for you as a means of summarizing and interpreting relationships.

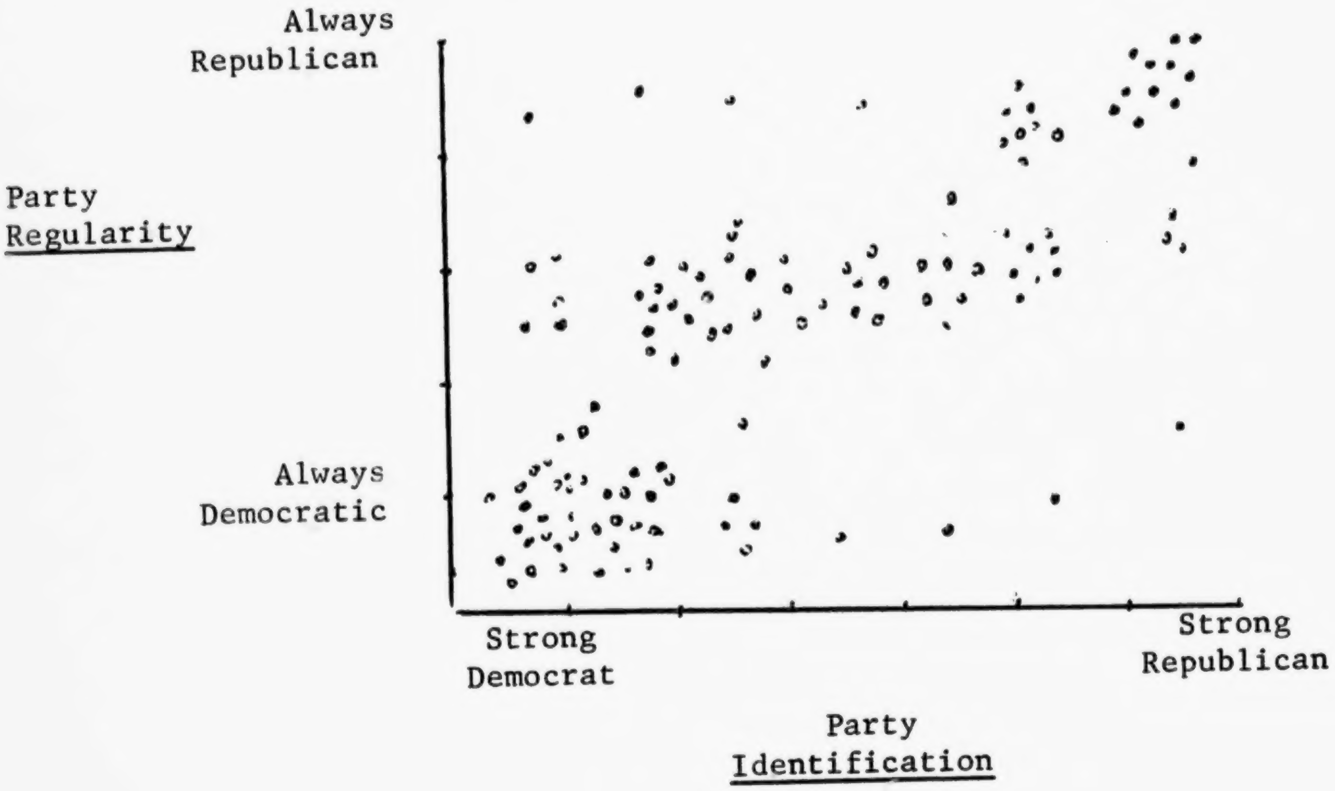


Figure 4.

Additional exercise: Vote Choice and Party Identification

Reading:
A. Campbell, Elections and the Political Order, chap. 3.

You have available in survey data more national elections than most previous analysts. Use these data to compare vote for President with vote for Congressman according to party identification for 1952, 1956, 1960 and 1964. Compare these patterns of the two types of elections over time with the expectations created by Campbell's analysis. From your data what general observations can you make about the American political system?

An additional exercise would be to repeat the analysis controlling for the South and non-South and examine the areas.

Political Behavior Laboratory

ASSIGNMENT 6

The Explanation of Partisanship

Assigned Reading:

Campbell, A., *et al.*, *The American Voter*, pp. 77-88.

Berelson, B., P. Lazarsfeld and W. McPhee, *Voting*, chap. 4, pp. 128-32.

To this point all the exercises have called for descriptive interpretation, answers to questions like "How many Democrats have incomes under $5,000?" "Are more Southern Republicans than Northern Republicans in farm occupations?" We have described partisan categories in terms of other variables.

The same data used for descriptive purposes can be used for explanation, or to put it differently we can talk about what caused individuals to be in particular partisan categories. For example, instead of *describing* Democrats in terms of how many have low incomes we can try to *explain* the incidence of Democrats as a result of their having low incomes. The demands of explanation are much greater on the analyst than the demands of description. Relatively few problems confront the analyst in determining the proportion of Democrats with incomes under $5,000; it is extremely difficult to establish a causal relationship in the form "incomes under $5,000 cause people (everyone, some people) to be Democrats." In part our difficulties are a result of our inability to find simple, universal relationships. Social relationships are seldom such that all "X's" are "Y's" but usually take the form "X's" *tend* to be "Y's."

Such a wide variety of problems is associated with causal explanations of social behavior that only one aspect will be discussed here. One problem facing the analyst of data drawn from cross-sectional populations is that many variables are likely to be related to most others, e.g., education, income, occupation and religion are related to one another. But this is not to say that they cause one another; there may be causal relationships between them or there may not. If we believe there are no causal connections between two variables which are related, then we attribute the cause of this pattern to some other, perhaps unspecified factor.

The difficulty we face in finding everything related to everything else is that by controlling relationships for other factors (which we have every reason to believe are causal explanations) patterns can be made to disappear or reduced to trivial variations. In analysis we may incorrectly infer that a variable has little explanatory value if we happen to control it with another factor which it causes. For example, suppose it is true that social class almost completely determines occupational success and level of educational training. If we try to explain occupational success with social class (which ought to be a strong relationship) and control for education, most of the strength of the basic relationship disappears and is accounted for by the control variable. If we then say social class is of little or no significance for occupational success, we will have drawn an incorrect inference.

In the following exercise you will investigate some efforts to explain regular voting support for the two parties' Presidential candidates, the hard core partisan strength of each party. It seems reasonable to expect the strongest relationships between social and economic variables and party regularity since this analysis eliminates the non-voters and many cross over voters.

We will use only a few social variables to test the possibility that party regularity is determined (can be completely accounted for) by region, race, religion and occupation.

Table 6.1 comes close to testing the relationship advanced in Chapter 4 of Voting. How would you describe the central ideas in Chapter 4?____

____

____

____

Is the relationship between religion and occupation and party regularity about the same in Elmira in 1948 and in the nation in 1952 and 1964?________
What are the differences____

____

____

____

Notice as more and more controls are introduced, an increasing number of cases are lost for analysis. What proportion of the cases in the non-South are lost in 1964?__________ How might these cases be retrieved for analysis in Table 6.1?____

____

Table 6.1. The Distribution of Party Regularity in Voting According to Religion and Occupation of the Head of Household for the Non-South in 1952 and 1964

	1952 (non-South) 4/0-3,6,7			
	Protestant 2/1		Catholic 2/2	
Party Regularity 9/	White Collar 6/1-3	Blue Collar 6/4-6	White Collar 6/1-3	Blue Collar 6/4-6
Always Democratic	18%	32%	39%	52%
Different parties	28	21	33	22
Always Republican	36	18	11	8
Other, DK, NA, Inap.	18	29	18	18
Total	100%	100%	101%	100%
n =	253	314	114	182

	1964 (non-South) 25/0-3,6-8			
	Protestant 56/4-8		Catholic 56/1,2	
Party Regularity 61/	White Collar 58/1,2,3	Blue Collar 58/4,5,6	White Collar 58/1,2,3	Blue Collar 58/4,5,6
Always Democratic 61/1				
Different parties 61/9				
Always Republican 61/2				
Other, DK, NA, Inap. 61/3-8, 0, -, +				
Total				
n =				

What are the main changes in party regularity in Table 6.1 between 1952 and 1964?

How would you describe the relationship between religion and party regularity in Table 6.1 for both years? In other words to what extent does religion appear to account for (or cause) party regularity judging from Table 6.1?

How would you describe the relationship between occupation and party regularity in Table 6.1 for both years?

In order to place more confidence in the last two answers what additional feasible controls would you like to have in the distributions?

Both the assigned readings discuss cross pressure. Does the social cross pressure thesis enjoy any support in Table 6.1? How would you describe the pattern of cross pressure in Table 6.1?

Suppose we are interested in explaining the switching from party to party over time. Does Table 6.1 provide an explanation for the tendency to support candidates of different parties?__________ Explain.______________

In Table 6.2 compute the percentages only for the party regulars. This further dramatizes the differences.

Table 6.2 removes the Negroes from the Protestant and Catholic categories in the North and treats them separately along with the Jews. How well do these separate categories explain the direction of party regularity?

How does the simpler distribution of only two aspects of party regularity in Table 6.2 change the problem faced by the analyst from that of Table 6.1?

In Table 6.2 what are the differences between 1952 and 1964?______________

Treating the variables in Table 6.2 as determinants of partisan stability what are the implications for the American political system? Are your conclusions like those drawn by Talcott Parsons in the reading assigned with Assignment 5?______________

Table 6.2. The Distribution of Party Regularity in Voting for those who have always voted for one Party according to Race, Religion and Occupation for the Non-South in 1952 and 1964

	1952 (non-South) 4/0-3,6,7					
	Negro 3/2	White 3/1				
			Protestant 2/1		Catholic 2/2	
Party Regularity 9/		Jewish 2/3	White Collar 6/1-3	Blue Collar 6/4-6	White Collar 6/1-3	Blue Collar 6/4-6
Always Democratic 9/1	97%	100%	31%	59%	79%	87%
Always Republican 9/2	3	-	69	41	21	13
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
n =	33	31	132	135	56	108

	1964 (non-South) 57/0-3,6-8					
	Negro 78/2	White 78/1				
			Protestant 56/4-8		Catholic 56/1,2	
Party Regularity 61/		Jewish 56/3	White Collar 58/1,2,3	Blue Collar 58/4,5,6	White Collar 58/1,2,3	Blue Collar 58/4,5,6
Always Democratic 61/1						
Always Republican 61/2						
Total						
n =						

Additional exercise: Agrarian Political Behavior

Reading:
A. Campbell, *et al.*, *The American Voter*, chap. 15.

One of the difficulties in studying farmers with national surveys is the smaller and smaller numbers of farmers in the population. Use the occupation of the head of the household for 1960 (col. 41) and 1964 (col. 58) to compare the political behavior of farmers and farm families with the patterns discussed in Chapter 15 of *The American Voter*.

Additional exercise: Suburban Migration

Reading:
A. Campbell, *et al.*, *The American Voter*, chap. 16.
David Wallace, "Suburbia--Predestined Republicanism," Dreyer and Rosenbaum, eds., *Political Opinion and Electoral Behavior*, pp. 102-111.

Using the community size code (col. 65) for respondents' place of residence in 1964, analyze the political character of suburbs in regions (col. 57) of the country. Compare the findings in Chapter 16 of *The American Voter* with your data for 1964.

Additional exercise: Regional Migration

Reading:
A. Campbell, *et al.*, *The American Voter*, chap. 16.

What are the main political and social changes in regional composition in the United States associated with migration (col. 67) revealed by the 1964 data? Do the common sense expectations appear about who is moving where? What are the long run implications of these patterns?

Additional exercise: Social Class Identification

Reading:

Heinz Eulau, Class and Party in the Eisenhower Years.
A. Campbell, et al., The American Voter, chap. 13.

How would you assess the relative impact of party (col. 60) and social class (col. 71) on vote choice (col. 63) in 1964? Social class identification (col. 71) and objective occupational status (col. 58) measured by white collar and blue collar have been interrelated by Eulau to show, among other things, the impact of misidentification. Does the analysis of 1952 and 1956 still appear applicable in 1964?

Additional exercise: Social Mobility

Reading:

A. Campbell, et al., The American Voter, chap. 16.

Upward and downward social mobility is credited with explaining much of the partisan change in our electorate, but there have been problems in measuring mobility. The 1964 study by the Survey Research Center provides a good measure of perceived intergenerational class mobility (col. 72) and this can be compared with perceived intergenerational partisan change (col. 73). What social and political control variables influence this distribution most strongly?

Political Behavior Laboratory

ASSIGNMENT 7

Status Polarization of Votes in the Post-World War II Period

Assigned Reading:
A. Campbell, *et al.*, *The American Voter*, chap. 13.
Robert Alford, *Party and Society*, pp. 219-231.

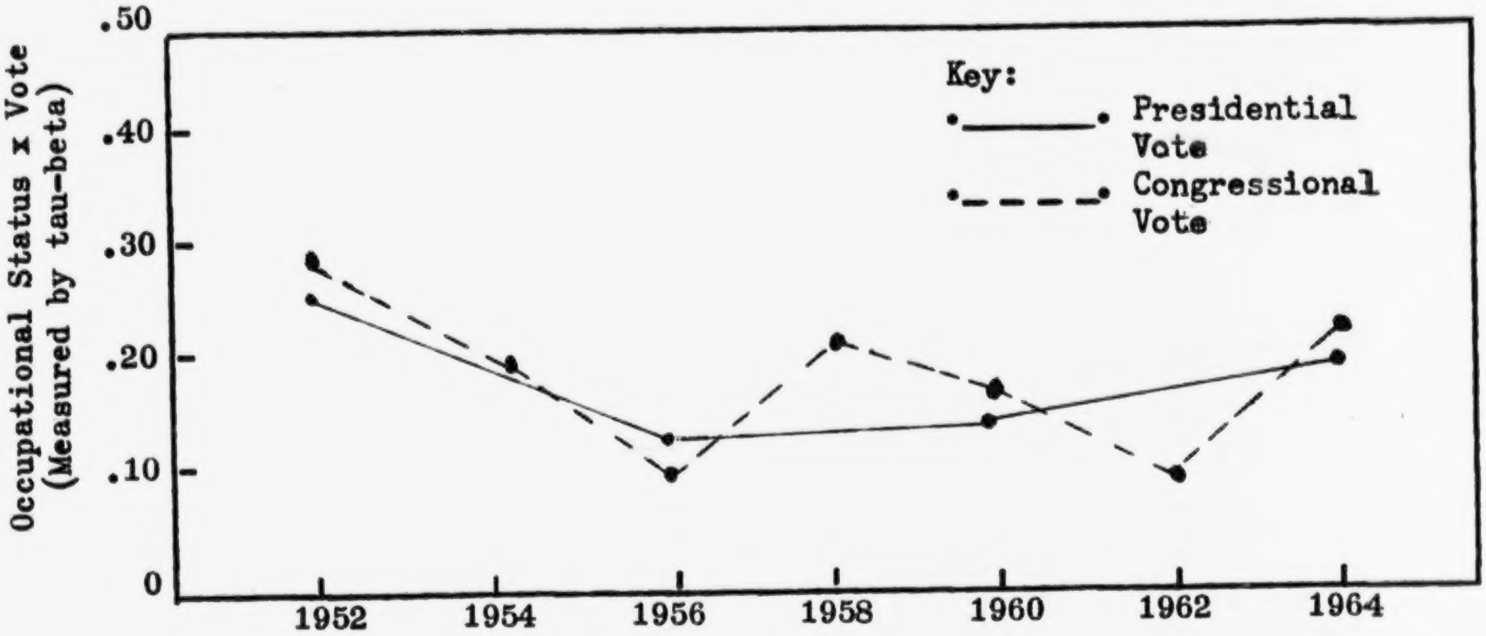
> "The extensive modern literature on social class and political behavior has shown persistently that individuals of higher status (subjectively or objectively) tend to give 'conservative' responses on questions of economic policy and tend as well to vote Republican; individuals of lower status respond more 'radically' and vote Democratic. This simple finding has assured us that social class has some bearing on the way in which the individual behaves politically. It has also served theorists as evidence of the importance of the economic motive in political behavior. But there is much that it does not tell us. In the first place, it is a static generalization. It does not allow us to anticipate variation in class voting from election to election. It casts no light upon the waxing and waning of class-based political discord. Secondly, the relationships on which the generalization is based are quite modest ones. If it is evidence of an economic motive in political behavior, we might wonder why it is so weak, rather than marvel that it appears at all."

A. Campbell, *et al.*, *The American Voter*, p. 346.

The purpose of this assignment is to study the degree of association between occupational status and voting preference. The term "status polarization" is used in *The American Voter* to conceptualize the degree to which upper and lower status groups in a society have taken up mutually antagonistic positions. In the case of voting, for example, if all upper status people voted for one party and all lower status people voted for the opposite party, there would be complete status polarization reflected in this vote.

Let us now look at the variation in status polarization in voting from 1952 to 1964. Figure 13.2 in *The American Voter*, uses tau-betas between occupation and voting for the period 1944 - 1956; Figure 7.1 extends the time period we can observe to 1964.

Figure 7.1
Status Polarization of Presidential and Congressional Votes, 1952 to 1964

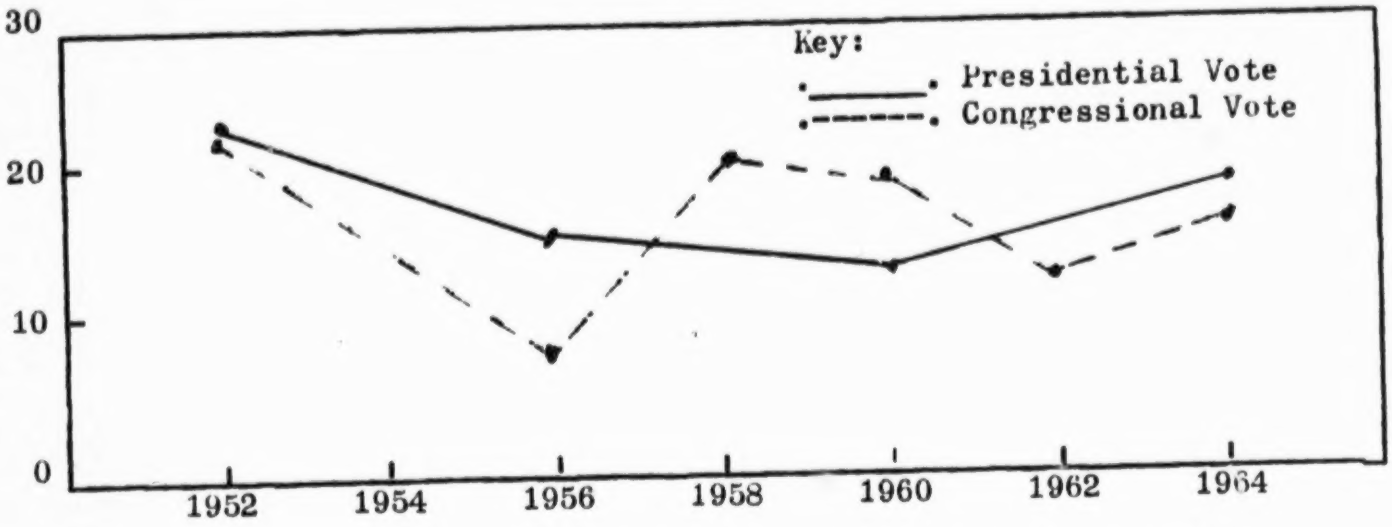


Did the trend that was found in Figure 13.2 in The American Voter continue? Compare Figure 13.2 with Figure 7.1.

What is the significance of the fluctuations in the value of the tau-betas? What do these fluctuations suggest for the role of social status in the political system?

To what extent do the trends follow economic prosperity and depression?

Figure 7.2
Alford's Index[a] of Class Voting for Presidential and Congressional Elections, 1952 to 1964



[a] The Alford Index Score is the per cent manual workers voting Democratic minus the per cent non-manual workers voting Democratic.

Giving some thought to the class structure and party system in the United States, speculate about why the correlations between status and vote are generally quite weak.

Figure 7.2 with Alford's index of Class Voting shows a somewhat different pattern. How would you compare the *methods* of Alford's index with the measure in *The American Voter*?

Is one measure obviously superior to the other? Why?

How similar or dissimilar are the findings of *Party and Society* and *The American Voter*?

Do Alford's findings lead you to different conclusions about the role of social status in American political behavior?

Statistical analysis--Kendall's Tau-beta

Kendall's tau-beta is a measure of the degree of association or correlation between two rank ordered variables. Let us start with a simple example. Suppose we wanted to measure the degree of association between course grades in political science and course grades in mathematics. We know that five students received the following grades: (For the purposes of this illustration, we will use an unusually small number of cases.)

Student	Grade in Political Science	Rank in Political Science	Grade in Mathematics	Rank in Mathematics
Al	B+		C	
Ben	C		C+	
Don	C+		B	
Ed	A-		B+	
Sam	B		A	

Complete the example by determining each student's rank in the courses.

Arranged in a different way, we have:

	Al	Ben	Don	Ed	Sam
Rank in Political Science	2	5	4	1	3
Rank in Mathematics	5	4	3	2	1

Now, let us compare the ranks of each student with every other student. If the ranks are in the natural order (1,2,3...10) we will score this +1; if not we will score this -1. Comparing Al with Ben, for example, we see that Ben (rank 5) ranks lower than Al (rank 2) in political science, but Ben (rank 4) ranks higher than Al (rank 5) in math. Thus we score the Al - Ben pair +1 in political science (2 and 5 are in a natural order) and -1 in math (5 and 4 are in descending order). Comparing Al with Don we see that their ranks in political science are in the correct order (2 and 4) and their ranks in math are in the descending order (5 and 3). Continuing for all possible pairs, we have the following indications of the relative ranks of the students in each course when each student is compared with the others.

Table 7.3

Pair	Political Science Rank Order Score	Math Rank Order Score	Overall Score
Al - Ben	+1	-1	-1
Al - Don	+1	-1	-1
Al - Ed	-1	-1	+1
Al - Sam	+1	-1	-1
Ben - Don	-1	-1	+1
Ben - Ed	-1	-1	+1
Ben - Sam	-1	-1	+1
Don - Ed	-1	-1	+1
Don - Sam	-1	-1	+1
Ed - Sam	+1	-1	-1

Net Score (S):

We are interested in measuring the degree of correlation between ability in political science and math. Thus, we will need an overall measure of the extent to which rank scores in political science and rank scores in math vary together. That is, if two students are ranked in the same order in both subjects (either +1 in both, or -1 in both) their positions in the two subjects are related. If the rank scores move in opposite directions, this would indicate lack of co-variation or correlation. By simply multiplying the political science and math rank order scores in Table 7.3 we get a +1 if they vary together (+1) x (+1) = +1 or (-1) x (-1) = +1; and -1 if the pair is not related (rank scores moving in opposite directions). Perform this multiplication in Table 7.3 to get the overall score. You should have 6 (+1)'s and 4 (-1)'s in the overall score column for a net score (5) of +2.

Kendall's rank correlation (tau) is simply:

$$\frac{\text{actual net score (S)}}{\text{Maximum Possible Score}}$$

The Maximum Possible Score (denominator) is the score we would have if the rank orders in both rows (viz courses) were exactly the same (perfect correlation). If this were the case, each pair would get an overall score of +1. (There could be no scores moving in opposite directions if all students were ranked the same in each course.) How many +1 overall scores would there be in this case? We can find out by simply counting the number of pairs. In any set of n people there are $\frac{1}{2}n\ (n-1)$ pairs. (If one person in a set of n persons paired with every other person in the set, there would be n-1 pairs. If all n people were so paired, there would be n times (n-1) pairs or n (n-1). Since we do not compare each pair twice--for example, we do not compare Al with Ben and then Ben with Al--the n (n-1) combinations are divided in half. Verify by counting the number of pairs in Table 7.3.)

Therefore:

$$\text{Kendall's tau} = \frac{S}{\frac{1}{2}\,n\,(n-1)}$$

In this case $S = +2;\ n = 5$

$$\text{thus tau} = \frac{2}{10} = .2$$

In the case of perfect rank ordering on both variables, S would equal $\frac{1}{2}n\ (n-1)$. If $\frac{1}{2}n\ (n-1)$ were substituted for S in the above formula for tau, we can see that tau would equal +1. (Any amount divided by the same amount is equal to 1). Thus tau takes the value +1 if there is perfect positive correlation (and -1 in the case of perfect negative correlation.)*

In the case of completely random rank ordering; i.e., if the two rows of ranks had no relationship with each other there would be about as many negative (opposite pairs) contributions to the net score (S) as there would be positive contributions (covariant pairs). In this situation, the net score (S) would be zero or close to it and thus tau would be close to zero. Thus, values of tau close to zero would indicate little correlation.

In the social sciences, correlations are seldom close to perfect so values of tau near +1 or -1 are rarely found. A tau of .5 or .6 (about halfway between zero and +1) is considered quite high for social science data.

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*Example of perfect negative correlation:

	A	B	C	D	E
rank in X	1	2	3	4	5
rank in Y	5	4	3	2	1

Each pair would contribute a -1 to the Overall Score.

The above formula is really Kendall's tau-alpha. Kendall's tau-beta is basically the same but takes into consideration ties in rankings. Suppose we were correlating two variables X and Y which were coded as follows:

Variable X	Variable Y
1. Very interested	1. Agree
3. Somewhat interested	2. Depends
5. Not interested	3. Disagree

Note that both variables (and their codes) are in a natural order (from strong to weak interest; from agree to disagree). Tau-beta cannot be used with variables that do not have an order underlying the classifications or codes. For example, the variable "religion" with classifications Protestant, Catholic, Jew has no one dimensional underlying continuum or ordering.

Suppose we took a few cards (cases) from the lab deck and we found that individual A was coded 1. on variable X and also 1. on variable Y; individual B was coded 1. on variable X and 2. on variable Y and so forth as follows:

Table 7.4

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
X	1.	1.	1.	3.	3.	3.	5.	5.
Y	1.	2.	2.	2.	3.	3.	2.	3.

The code categories are, in essence, ranks. Let us compare pairs and score them as we did in the example above. We see that A and B are tied on variable X. There is no difference in rank and therefore we score this pair as zero. Continuing we have:

Table 7.5

Pair	Variable X Rank Order Score	Variable Y Rank Order Score	Overall Score
AB	0	+1	0
AC	0	+1	0
AD	+1	+1	+1
AE	+1	+1	+1
AF	+1	+1	+1
AG	+1	+1	+1
AH	+1	+1	+1
BC	0	0	0
BD	+1	0	0
BE	+1	+1	+1
BF	+1	+1	+1
BG	+1	0	0
BH	+1	+1	+1
CD	+1	0	0
CE	+1	+1	+1
CF	+1	+1	+1
CG	+1	0	0
CH	+1	+1	+1
DE	0	+1	0
DF	0	+1	0
DG	+1	0	0
DH	+1	+1	+1
EF	0	0	0
EG	+1	-1	-1
EH	+1	0	0
FG	+1	-1	-1
FH	+1	0	0
GH	0	+1	0
		S =	

Compute the overall score in Table 7.5. (S should be 12 - 2 = 10). Note that zero times any number is zero. Thus in all pairs where there are ties on either or both variables nothing is added to the S score. This fact must be taken into consideration in computing the denominator of tau. If ties cannot contribute to the S score, we must subtract the total number of ties in each variable from the Maximum Possible Score so tau can achieve a value of +1 if we have perfect ordering.

Thus: $$\text{tau-beta} = \frac{S}{\sqrt{[\frac{1}{2} n (n-1) - T] [\frac{1}{2} n (n-1) - U]}}$$

where T = number of pairs tied on variable X

U = number of pairs tied on variable Y

If you are wondering where the square root came from, note that *if* there were no ties we would have

$$\text{tau} = \frac{S}{\sqrt{[\frac{1}{2} n (n-1) - 0] [\frac{1}{2} n (n-1) - 0]}} = \frac{}{\sqrt{[\frac{1}{2} n (n-1)]^2}}$$

$$= \frac{S}{\frac{1}{2} n (n-1)}$$

Computation of Tau-beta for Cross-Tabulations

Let us arrange the data in Table 7.4 into a cross-tabulation table. Inside the table we will designate the individuals occupying the cells so that you can see exactly how the rearrangement took place.

Table 7.6

Variable Y

Variable X	1.	2.	3.
1.	A	B,C	
3.		D	E,F
5.		G	H

We can compute the S score with the data in this way. For example, looking at the upper left hand cell, (in which we find A), we note that B and C are in the same row (rank) and thus should contribute nothing to the S score when compared with A. However, D, E and F, G, H, which are below A and to the right, all have higher ranks than A on both variables. A, paired with each of these, would add +1 to the S score. Thus, A times the number of cases below it and to the right gives a positive contribution to the S score. To continue, B and C are tied on the Y variable, with those directly below (D and G). However, both B and C have higher ranks on both variables than E, F and H. Thus B times E, F and H plus C times E, F and H adds to the S score. (You may want to check these combinations with the original computations of the S score for these data in Table 7.5.) In general we can say that if we look at any given cell, all cases below it and to the right contribute positively to S; we would multiply the number of cases in the given cell by the total number of cases in the given cell by the total number of cases below and to the right to compute positive contributions to the S score. We can also show that all cases below and to the left of a given cell are in the incorrect or descending order and thus would contribute negatively to the S score. Thus, if we look at the cell in which we find E and F, we note that G (below and to the left) has a lower rank on both variables. These two pairs (EG and FG) would contribute two (-1)'s to the S score. (Again, you may want to check these pairs and their scores with the original computations in Table 7.5.)

We have already noted that B and C are tied with D and G on the Y variable. This means that there are 6 pairs of ties in this instance (BC, BD, BG, CD, CG, and DG). You may wish to refer back to this example when we compute the denominator of tau-beta.

Table 7.6a

(Table 7.6 with number of cases in cells)

Variable Y

Variable X	1.	2.	3.	
1.	1	2	0	3
3.	0	1	2	3
5.	0	1	1	2
	1	4	3	8

0 indicates no cases

We will now compute S by looking at each cell across each row and score according to the rules outlined above:

Positive contributions to S (each cell times those cases below and to the right):

1 (1 + 2 + 1 + 1) +2 (2+1) + LC + 0 (1+1) + 1 (1) + LC

(Last row is not used since no cases can be below it.)

Negative contributions to S (each cell times those cases below and to the left):

FC + 2 (0 + 0) + 0 (0 + 1 + 0 + 1) + FC + 1 (0) + 2 (0 = 1)

"LC" indicates that cells in the last column are not used to compute positive contributions to S since there can be no cases to the right.

"FC" indicates that cells in the first column are not used to compute negative contributions to S since there can be no cases to the left.

P = Positive contributions to S = 1 (5) + 2 (3) + 0 + 1 = 12

Q = Negative contributions to S = 0 + 0 + 0 + 2 = 2

$$S = P - Q = 12 - 2 = 10$$

The denominator of tau-beta is:

$$\sqrt{\left[\tfrac{1}{2}\ n\ (n-1) - T\right]\ \left[\tfrac{1}{2}\ n\ (n-1) - U\right]}$$

where T = number of pairs of ties on variable X

We have already noted that the number of pairs in a set of n persons is $\frac{1}{2}$ n (n-1). Thus,

$T = \frac{1}{2}\ \ t\ \ (t\ \ - 1)$ where t = number in each set of people tied on a category of X.

In the above example (Table 7.6a) there is a set of 3 tied on category 1. of variable X; a set of 3 people tied on category 3.; and a set of 2 tied on category 5. thus there are,

$\frac{1}{2}\ 3\ (3-1) + \frac{1}{2}\ 3\ (3-1) + \frac{1}{2}\ 2\ (2-1)$ pairs of ties on variable X.

Similarly, $U = \frac{1}{2}\ \ u\ \ (u\ \ -1)$ where u = number in each set of people tied on a category of Y.

In this case $U = \frac{1}{2}\ 1\ (1-1) + \frac{1}{2}\ 4\ (4-1) + \frac{1}{2}\ 3\ (3-1)$

T = 3 + 3 + 1 = 7

U = 0 + 6 + 3 = 9

You may wish to verify this by counting the zeros in the variable X and variable Y rank order scores in Table 7.5.

Finally,

$$\text{tau-beta} = \frac{S}{\sqrt{\left[\tfrac{1}{2}\ n\ (n-1) - T\right]\ \left[\tfrac{1}{2}\ n\ (n-1) - U\right]}}$$

$$= \frac{10}{\sqrt{\left[\tfrac{1}{2}\ 8\ (8-1) - 7\right]\ \left[\tfrac{1}{2}\ 8\ (8-1) - 9\right]}}$$

$$= \frac{10}{\sqrt{(21)\ \ (19)}} \qquad = .51$$

If two cross-tabulated variables are perfectly correlated, all cases would have the same ranks in each variable and thus all cases would fall along the diagonal of the table. For example,

	1.	2.	3.	
1.	3			3
2.		3		3
3.			3	3
	3	3	3	9

In the event of perfect correlation we would have perfect predictability; knowing someone was coded 1. on variable X would mean that we would know he was coded 1. on variable Y and so forth.

It should be noted that given the number of cases in each category; that is, given the marginal distributions of variable X and Y in Table 7.6a, we cannot possibly achieve a +1 tau-beta since all cases cannot be put on the diagonal and still add correctly to give the marginal totals. In other words, we are constrained by the distribution of cases in the categories of the variables we are correlating. For example, the closest we could come to a perfect correlation given the marginal totals in Table 7.6a is as follows:

Variable Y

		1.	2.	3.	
Variable X	1.	1	2		3
	3.		2	1	3
	5.			2	2
		1	4	3	

(Table 7.6a with cases arranged as close to principle diagonal as possible given the marginal totals.)

This arrangement would give:

$$P = 1\ (2 + 1 + 2) + 2\ (1 + 2) + 2\ (2)$$
$$= 5 + 6 + 4 = 15$$

There would be no negative contribution to S with this arrangement. The denominator of tau-beta would be the same as that just computed. Thus, tau-beta for this arrangement which is as close to perfect as we can get is:

$$\frac{15}{19.9} = .75$$

Political Behavior Laboratory

ASSIGNMENT 8

The Political Behavior of Racial and Ethnic Groups

Assigned Reading:
Angus Campbell, *et al.*, *The American Voter*, chap. 12.

It is common observation that Catholics, Jews, Negroes and other religious or ethnic groups have unique political tendencies. We know that Negroes are less politically involved than whites; when Negroes identify with a party, they tend to be Democrats. Tendencies distinguishing Catholics or union members or others could be shown as well.

The assumption that is readily made when observing and interpreting such data is that there is something about Negroes *qua* Negroes that results in their particular political behavior. Yet, it may be that *anyone* with the same type of "life situation"--anyone who was raised in and now lives in the same type of environment as Negroes--would demonstrate similar political characteristics. Is it a particular socialization experience or is it basic group differences that make some politically different from others? We can find out by controlling for a variety of environmental factors and seeing if the group behavior is still unique after this "life situation" has been accounted for. This is done in Chapter 12 of *The American Voter*.

To begin, can you think of geographical, social and environmental characteristics that *most* Negroes would share?

How about Catholics?

Table 8.1 shows the simple comparison of Catholics, Jews and Negroes with the remainder of the population. These comparisons are on attitudes toward specific public policies. How would you summarize the differences shown in Table 8.1?

Table 8.1. Proportion of Groups Agreeing on Three Issues, 1956

Per cent agreeing	Catholics	Non-Catholics	Northern Negro	Northern White	Southern Negro	Southern White
Fire Suspected Communists	30%	26%	16%	24%	19%	22%
Foreign Aid	45%	49%	32%	32%	20%	28%
Curb Union Power	68%	73%	36%	54%	20%	47%

Table 8.2. Difference Between Groups and Life Situation Control Groups Agreeing on Three Issues, 1956[a]

	Union	Catholic	Jews	Northern Negro	Southern Negro
Fire Suspected Communists	-3	+8	-4	-4	+9
Foreign Aid	-1	-5	+3	+16	+4
Curb Union Power	-15	+1	-19	-20	-12

[a] The entries in the table are the differences between the proportion of group members agreeing with the issue statement after subtracting the proportion of the control group in agreement with the issue statement. "+'s" mean more agreement in the group, "-'s" mean more agreement in the control group; but attention is focused on the amount of difference no matter which direction.

How do these simple comparisons in Table 8.1 differ from the more complex comparisons in Table 8.2?______________________________

____

____

Using the 1956 data, as in Chapter 12 of The American Voter, we can control for life situation and look at the comparison between the five groups and the control groups on specific issues. Table 8.2 shows these comparisons. Where are the differences greatest?_____________ Where are they smallest? _____________ What is the significance of these differences in terms of groups' political impact on members?______________________

____

____

How do these differences compare with the differences between 1956 figures in Table 12.1 and Table 12.2 in *The American Voter*?

The controls for life situation for Catholics, say, entail drawing together a matching group of non-Catholics who have the same social and economic characteristics. They are matched according to region, urban-rural residence and occupation and maintain a general similarity in age, education, income, geographical mobility and immigrant generation. Given this approximate social and economic similarity it is possible to compare the groups on political variables and to attribute the differences to the main social characteristic which distinguishes them.

Why would you expect the simple comparison of Table 8.1 to be different from the much more complex comparison in Table 8.2?

Even though the complex "life situation" controls do not change many conclusions about the distinctiveness of groups, what analytic purpose is served by using them instead of the simple group-non-group comparison?

According to Table 8.2 which groups are most distinctive, i.e., where is the greatest impact attributed to group membership?

How would you explain the variation in apparent impact of group membership?

Additional exercise: Negro Voting and Non-Voting

Reading:

Donald Matthews and James Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics, Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., New York, 1966, chaps. 3 and 4.

The major Survey Research Center studies cover twelve years of considerable change in Negro attitudes and voting habits. Analyze one of the following:

1) Compare habitual non-voting (col. 9 and col. 61) among Negroes (col. 3 and col. 78) in the North and South (col. 4 and col. 57) for 1952 and 1964 with non-voting among whites. Does interest in politics (col. 10 and col. 62) follow the same pattern?

2) Controlling for region (col. 57) compare the attitudes of whites and Negroes on several policy matters (col. 74-77) for 1964. Does a control for education (col. 59) alter your conclusions?

Political Behavior Laboratory

ASSIGNMENT 9

The Explanation of Vote Choice

Assigned Reading:
A. Campbell, et al., The American Voter, chap. 4, pp. 524-531.

Although far more research effort has gone into the exploration of vote choice than any other aspect of political behavior, our knowledge in this area is not notably superior. In part the failure to accumulate knowledge in this area of study has resulted from a serious disagreement among researchers over what constituted a meaningful and interesting explanation of vote choice. The main differences have been between the analysts who have insisted on explanations in terms of rather broad, permanent social characteristics and those who have sought explanations in terms of political attitudes often of a temporary nature. The competing views of the cross pressure hypothesis are part of this controversy.

To state the controversy differently some analysts seek explanations in terms of a few religious categories and perhaps no more than three occupation categories or with a few categories of social class. Since these variables are roughly measured, the analysts settle for rather modest relationships. What they gain are categories which can be used over long periods of time and from nation to nation.

The analysts using attitudes as the basis for explanation have achieved higher relationships between vote choice and attitude dimensions like perception of the candidates or perceived differences in the parties' policy stands. The specific content of these variables, however, is continually changing. In the following exercises some relationships between attitudes and vote choice will be investigated. Notice that the less closely related the attitude in manifest content to the choice itself between the two candidates, the less closely they are related in the distributions. This is similar to the "psychological distance" discussed in The American Voter.

An additional consideration is that some attitudes may be more important than others, have more causal impact. An examination of one solution to this problem will be discussed at the end of this exercise under "statistical analysis."

In Table 9.1 compute the percentages for voters only.

Table 9.1. The Distribution of Presidential Vote Choice According to Candidate Image in 1956.

	Candidate Image 27/				
Presidential Vote 22/	27/1,2,3	27/4,5	27/6	27/7,8	27/9,0,-
Total					
n =					

How would you describe the overall pattern in Table 9.1?______________________

____

____

____

The relationship between candidate image and vote choice runs the danger of being trivial and uninteresting because the independent and dependent variable are so close to having the same meaning. We might say that these variables represent two ways of measuring the same thing, the respondent's preferential orientation toward the two candidates. Most of us would agree it is trivial to show a high relationship between vote intention immediately before voting and reported vote immediately after.

Does Table 9.1 show a trivial and uninteresting relationship?______________
Why do you say that?____

____

____

____

Would you expect to be able to change the pattern of relationship in Table 9.1 by controlling for one or more additional variables?____________

Why do you say that?____

____

____

____

How would you describe the overall pattern of Table 9.2 and Table 9.3?

____

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Is the relationship in Table 9.2 the same as the relationship in Table 9.3? ____________ How would you interpret this comparison?____________

____

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Does Table 9.1 provide a "better" explanation of presidential vote choice than tables 9.2 or 9.3?___________ Explain.____________________

____

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Table 9.4 demonstrates the relationship of both candidate image and party identification to Presidential vote choice in 1956 by showing in each cell the proportion of the two-party vote for Eisenhower. The purpose of introducing more variables in such a distribution is to better and better predict or explain the dependent variable, in this case vote choice. Table 9.5 shows a further division of certain cells from Table 9.4 with a third variable, attitudes toward the policy stands of the political parties.

Table 9.2. The Distribution of Presidential Vote by Party Identification in 1956

Presidential Vote 22/	Strong Democrats 19/1	Weak Democrats 19/2	Independents 19/3,4,5	Weak Republicans 19/6	Strong Republicans 19/7
Democratic 22/1	85%	63%	26%	7%	1%
Republican 22/2	15	37	74	93	99
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
n =	285	269	303	193	210

Table 9.3. The Distribution of Presidential Vote by Party Identification in 1964

Presidential Vote 63/	Strong Democrats 60/1	Weak Democrats 60/2	Independents 60/3,4,5	Weak Republicans 60/6	Strong Republicans 60/7
Democratic 63/1	95%	82%	66%	43%	10%
Republican 63/2	5	18	34	57	90
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
n =	319	262	219	162	144

Table 9.4. Proportion of Voters Voting Republican in 1956 by Party Identification and Attitudes toward the Candidates

Attitudes toward the Candidates	Strong Democrats 19/1	Weak Democrats 19/2	Independents 19/3,4,5	Weak Republicans 19/6	Strong Republicans 19/7
Strong Pro-Eisenhower 27/1,2,3	48% (25)	79% (43)	93% (137)	100% (108)	99% (163)
Weak Pro-Eisenhower 27/4,5	41% (29)	56% (73)	75% (65)	96% (51)	100% (36)
Neutral 27/6	4% (25)	14% (29)	59% (29)	82% (11)	100% (7)
Weak Pro-Stevenson 27/7,8	13% (75)	17% (53)	33% (33)	58% (12)	-
Strong Pro-Stevenson 27/8,0,-	4% (122)	10% (60)	19% (21)	0% (4)	100% (1)

Table 9.5. Proportion of Voters Voting Republican in 1956 by Attitudes toward the Parties for Selected Cells in Table 9.4

Strong Republicans

	Pro-Democratic	Neutral	Pro-Republican
Strong Pro-Eisenhower	100% (3)	100% (8)	99% (152)

Weak Democrats

	Pro-Democratic	Neutral	Pro-Republican
Weak Pro-Eisenhower	48% (46)	69% (13)	71% (14)

Independents

	Pro-Democratic	Neutral	Pro-Republican
Weak Pro-Eisenhower	45% (20)	81% (26)	100% (19)

Strong Democrats

	Pro-Democratic	Neutral	Pro-Republican
Strong Pro-Stevenson	4% (115)	0% (6)	0% (1)

Table 9.6. The Distribution of Presidential Vote Choice According to Attitudes Toward Public Power and Housing in 1956

	Attitudes Toward Public Power 36/
Presidential Vote 22/	
Total	
n =	

Compare Table 9.4 and Table 9.1. Describe the impact of party identification on the relationship between candidate image and vote choice.______________

____

____

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____

By comparing Table 9.4 with Table 9.2 describe the impact of candidate image on party identification and vote choice.______________________________

____

____

____

In Table 9.5 how much is gained in prediction or explanation of vote choice among strong Republicans with strong pro-Eisenhower views by adding attitudes toward the parties?_________ Why is that?__________________

____

Is the same thing true among Independents with weak pro-Eisenhower views when party attitudes are added in Table 9.5?__________ How would you describe this pattern of relationship?__________

How does the pattern of Table 9.6 compare with the previous tables?__________

Does the attitude in Table 9.6 provide a powerful explanation of vote choice?__________ What are the probable reasons for this?__________

How would you compare the explanations of presidential vote choice you are able to offer on the basis of these tables with the explanation offered in Chapter 4 of *The American Voter*? __________

Additional exercise: Split-ticket Voting

Reading:

Angus Campbell and Warren Miller, "Motivational Basis of Split-ticket Voting."

A. Campbell, *et al.*, *Elections and the Political Order*, chaps. 5 and 6.

By concentrating on split-ticket voting which separates the President from the rest of the ticket, analyze the 1960 data. Use party identification, region and religion to account for splitting tickets at the Presidential level in 1960. Do your findings conform to your expectations based on the article by Campbell and Miller?

Political Behavior Laboratory

ASSIGNMENT 10

The Effect of the Mass Media on Voting Change

Assigned Reading:

Philip E. Converse, "Information Flow and the Stability of Partisan Attitudes," in Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, Elections and the Political Order, chap. 8.

Kurt and Gladys Engel Lang, "The Mass Media and Voting" in Burdick and Brodeck, American Voting Behavior.

If, during an election campaign, the public heard or read nothing new about the candidates or the issues, and no political events impinged on their consciousness, we would expect little in the way of voting change. Republicans would vote Republican; Democrats would vote Democratic and Independents would probably divide their votes about evenly (if sufficiently involved to get to the polls at all). "In other words, (party) identification may be seen as an inertia or momentum . . . which determines the partisan direction of any individual decision unless there are short-term forces in the immediate situation acting with sufficient strength in an opposite partisan direction to deflect the momentum and shift the behavior." (Philip E. Converse, "Information Flow and the Stability of Partisan Attitudes," op. cit., p. 140.) Examples of short-term forces that might cause deflection are candidate's personality, news of economic decline, charges of ineffective or corrupt administration, etc. Much of these kinds of short-term stimuli reach the individual voter through the mass media. The basic question is: How persuasive is information presented through the media (news summaries, campaign speeches and political advertising)? Can we find a link between media usage and voting change or deflection?

You will see in Table 10.1 it is the strongest party identifiers who attend the media most frequently. Furthermore, the highly involved are most likely to attend the media and are also most likely to possess a high level of current political knowledge or information. And as Converse postulates: "The probability that any given voter will be . . . deflected in his partisan momentum to cross party lines . . . varies inversely as a function of the mass of stored information about politics." The higher the level of political knowledge, the less likely one is to be swayed by short-term appeals.

Table 10.1. Media Usage by Strength of Party Identification, 1964

Media Usage		Strong Dem. 60/1	Weak Dem. 60/2	Ind. Dem. 60/3	Ind. 60/4	Ind. Rep. 60/5	Weak Rep. 60/6	Strong Rep. 60/7
79/7,8,9	High							
79/4,5,6	Med.							
79/1,2,3	Low							
Total								
Net Score (% High - % Low)								

According to Converse, at which level of media attention are individuals most susceptible to switching their vote preference?______________________

Given this brief overview, let us see how deflection varies when media usage is increased. Although this analysis is similar to that in Converse (Figure 8-1) we will make an important change and control for political involvement. Since involvement is so closely associated with "mass of stored information," we will really be controlling for Converse's "mass" factor as well.

Table 10.2. Raw Data for Figure 10.1

Low Involvement 62/5-8

1964 Presidential Vote	Strong Dem. 60/1	Weak Dem. 60/2	Ind. Dem. 60/3	Ind. 60/4	Ind. Rep. 60/5	Weak Rep. 60/6	Strong Rep. 60/7	Total (including all the codes)	Tau-beta
			Little or No Media Usage 79/1,2						
63/1 Dem.	10	10	1	5	1	6	1	34	.43
63/2 Rep.	0	1	0	0	2	1	4	8	
			A Little Media Usage 79/3						
Dem.	9	15	4	8	3	3	0	43	.43
Rep.	0	3	0	0	3	4	3	13 56	
			Some Media Usage 79/4,5						
Dem.	12	28	7	11	4	10	1	73	.38
Rep.	1	3	0	0	2	12	2	20 93	
			High Media Usage 79/6-9						
Dem.	1	13	4	2	1	5	0	26	.28
Rep.	1	4	0	0	3	4	3	15 41	

Medium Involvement 62/3,4

1964 Presidential Vote	Strong Dem. 60/1	Weak Dem. 60/2	Ind. Dem. 60/3	Ind. 60/4	Ind. Rep. 60/5	Weak Rep. 60/6	Strong Rep. 60/7	Total (including all the codes)	Tau-beta
			Little or No Media Usage 79/1,2						
Dem.	11	7	2	1	0	3	0	24	.57
Rep.	0	0	0	1	0	4	1	6 30	
			A Little Media Usage 79/3						
Dem.	28	13	9	3	0	4	0	57	.61
Rep.	0	1	0	2	1	5	8	17 74	
			Some Media Usage 79/4,5						
Dem.	38	36	19	3	1	11	4	112	.43
Rep.	5	6	4	3	9	11	15	54 166	

Medium Involvement (con't)

	Strong Dem.	Weak Dem.	Ind. Dem.	Ind.	Ind. Rep.	Weak Rep.	Strong Rep.	Total	Tau-beta
			High Media Usage 79/6-9						
Dem.	46	28	14	6	5	11	3	113	.50
Rep.	0	11	3	4	7	14	17	56	
								169	

High Involvement 62/1,2

			Little or No Media Usage 79/1,2						
Dem.	3	0	0	2	0	1	0	6	.21
Rep.	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	
								7	
			A Little Media Usage 79/3						
Dem.	16	10	3	0	1	1	1	32	.39
Rep.	1	2	0	0	1	2	2	8	
								40	
			Some Media Usage 79/4,5						
Dem.	49	17	6	1	0	5	1	79	.57
Rep.	4	7	0	1	7	10	14	43	
								122	
			High Media Usage 79/6-9						
Dem.	81	38	12	5	1	10	3	151	.67
Rep.	3	9	2	2	16	25	61	120	
								271	

Plot the tau-betas from Table 10.2 and connect the points to form Figure 10.1 (three separate graphs for the three levels of involvement). Also, compute the per cent strong identifiers (Strong Democrats and Strong Republicans) in each of the involvement-media usage groups and put these figures in the box provided at the bottom of Figure 10.1. Also, compute the per cent Independents (Independent Republicans and Independent Democrats as well as "pure" Independents) in each of the groups and place these figures in the appropriate box at the bottom of Figure 10.1. (It should be kept in mind that we are considering here only those who voted in the 1964 election.)

Looking at those with low involvement what can you conclude about the effect of increased media usage on stability of voting behavior?____________

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____

Now observe those with high involvement. What is the effect of increased media usage on their voting behavior?______________________________

____

____

Who are the least stable voters?________________________________

____

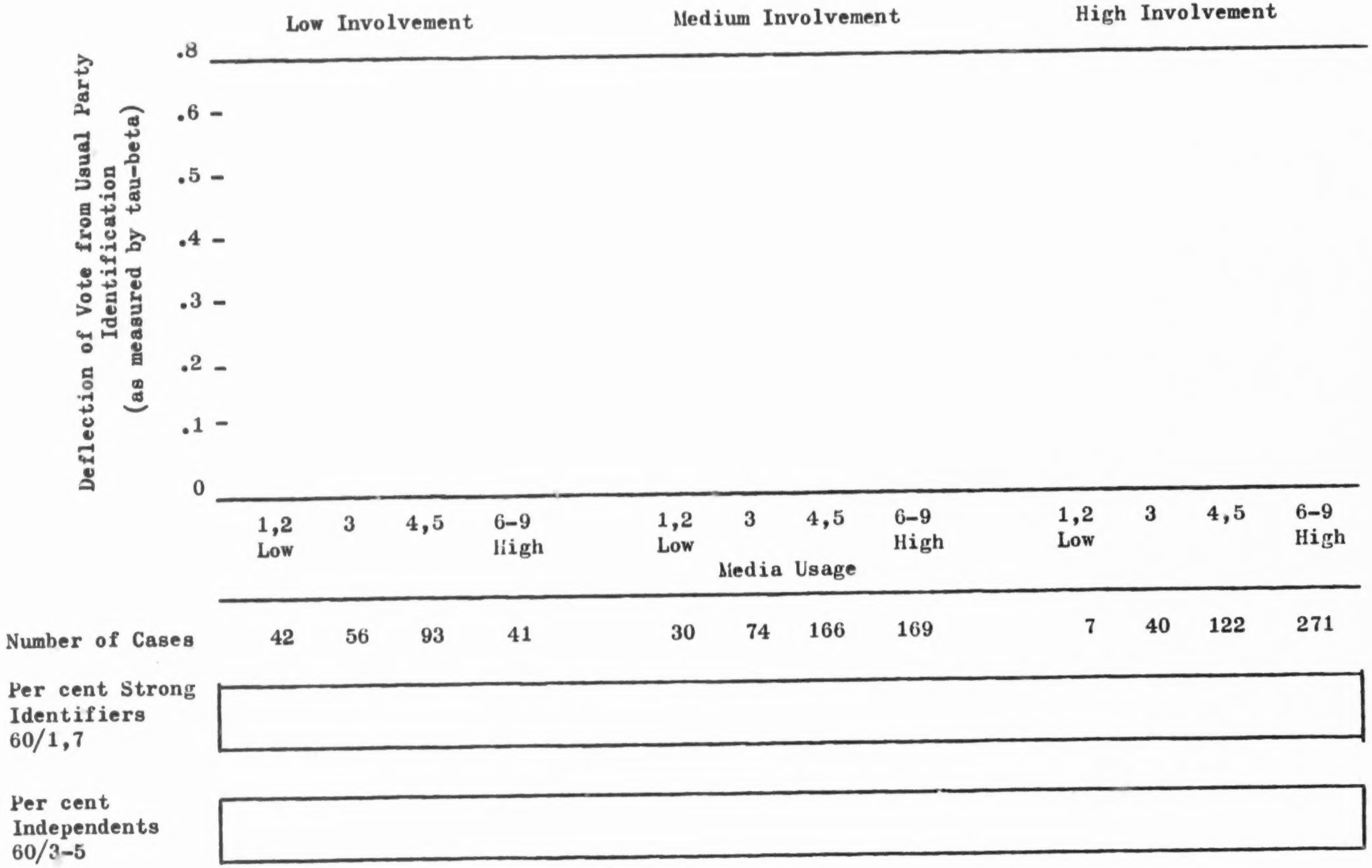

Figure 10.1. Measure of Vote Stability of Frequency of Media Attendance, 1964

How do you explain the difference between the effects of media usage on people at those two levels of involvement?______________________________

Table 10.3. Vote Turnout Within Media Usage Groups with Involvement Controlled, 1964

	Low Involvement 62/5-8				Medium Involvement 62/3-4				High Involvement 62/1-2			
	Media Usage 79/				Media Usage 79/				Media Usage 79/			
	1,2	3	4,5	6-9	1,2	3	4,5	6-9	1,2	3	4,5	6-9
Percent who Voted 63/1,2												
Group Total	94	82	142	55	51	113	204	191	8	46	144	301

Given the high proportion of independents (and the low proportion of strong identifiers) in the low involvement group, and considering the apparent lack of voting stability in this group, we might consider those in the left hand section of Table 10.3 (and Figure 10.1) to be "potential switchers." What per cent of the national adult population who attended the media at least fairly regularly (Media Usage Index codes 4-9) were in this low involvement "potential switcher" category in 1964? (Use total number of cases in Table 10.3 as the base for computing this per cent.) __________. What is the relative likelihood (probability) that these low involvement media users will turn out to vote?__________

Judging from the data in Figure 10.1, to what extent should those with medium involvement be considered potential switchers?____________________

In all, what would you say is the potential for changing the electoral outcome through use of the mass media? (Consider here the propensity to attend the media and the voting behavior of the whole population.)

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Political Behavior Laboratory

ASSIGNMENT 11

Information Flow from the Mass Media

Assigned Reading:

V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy, chap. 14.

Joseph T. Klapper, "The Social Effects of Mass Communication," in Wilbur Schramm, ed., The Science of Human Communication, chap. 6.

The public acquires information about political events and personalities either by using the mass media or by hearing about the news secondhand from friends or acquaintances. (Of course, a few events impinge directly on segments of the public--strikes, unemployment, floods, etc.--but even then people rely on the local media and on friends to learn more about these happenings.) Some people are avid readers of all the political news they can lay their hands on while others are so unconcerned that they even turn off the evening TV news program. Why are some of the public attentive while others are not, and what effect does this have on political knowledge?

Two factors that we would expect to be closely related to media usage are political involvement and education. Obviously, the more a person is interested in and cares about politics, the more attention he will pay to campaigns and political news. Also, the more educated a person is the more likely he is to be attentive and seek new information. Indeed, V. O. Key, Jr. finds that both of these factors are highly related to media exposure. Table 11.1 explores which of these two factors is more important in motivating people to attend the media.

Are education and political involvement both independently related to media usage? Which is the more important factor?

Table 11.1. Mass Media Usage as A Function of Political Involvement with Education Controlled, 1964

	High School or Less 59/1-5			More than High School 59/6-8		
	Involvement			Involvement		
Media Usage Index 79/	Low 62/5-8	Medium 62/3,4	High 62/1,2	Low 62/5-8	Medium 62/3,4	High 62/1,2
Little attention 79/1,2,3	52%	36%	16%	30%	13%	5%
Some attention 79/4,5	44	49	53	60	60	45
Highly attentive 79/6-9	4	15	31	10	24	49
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Attentiveness Score (% High - % Little)	-48	-21	+15	-20	+11	+44

Table 11.2. Proportion Highly Attentive to Mass Media According to Education and Political Involvement, 1964

		Education	
		High 59/6-8	Low 59/1-5
Political Involvement	High 62/1,2	49%	31%
	Low 62/5-8	10%	4%

Table 11.2 presents selected information from Table 11.1. Does it lead to the same conclusions about relative impact of education and involvement?______________________________

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Can you think of factors other than education and involvement that might motivate people to attend the mass media?______________________________

____

____

It has been assumed that those who pay attention to the news and to political campaigns on the mass media gain knowledge from this flow of information. Let us look at the users of the various types of media--magazines, newspapers, TV and radio. Do the users of one of these types of media acquire more information about the current political situation than those who rely on another type? In 1964, respondents were asked which of these media they used as the most important source of information about the campaign. In Table 11.3 we can observe the amount of current political information possessed by the users of the various media.

Table 11.3. Level of Current Political Information as a Function of Most Important Media Source, 1964

Level of Information	Magazines 80/4,8	Newspapers 80/1,5,6	TV 80/3,7	Radio 80/2	None 80/0
	Most Important Media Source				
Low 66/0-2	2%	5%	12%	25%	50%
66/3-5	4	17	23	16	27
66/6,7	34	30	32	27	18
High 66/8,9	60	48	33	32	5
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Do you draw the same conclusion for 1964 from Table 11.3 as V. O. Key drew for 1956 from Table 14.1 on page 347 of Public Opinion and American Democracy? ______________________________

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By the way, what proportion of the public in 1964 rely mostly on television for news?__________ Compare this with the trend on page 346 of V. O. Key's, Public Opinion and American Democracy.

We are not interested in media attention as such, but only because we assume that political information is acquired in this way. We also know that education and involvement influence the acquisition of political information. Table 11.4 interrelates three independent variables--media attention, involvement and education--and their impact on the level of political information.

Are all three variables independently related to the level of political information according to Table 11.4?______________________________

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____

Describe the overall pattern of relationship emphasizing the most important of the three independent variables in its impact on political information.

Table 11.4. The Relationship of Mass Media Usage to Proportion with High Information Level, Controlling for Education and Involvement, 1964.

High Education (31/6-8)

	Hi Involvement (21/1,2)		Lo Involvement (21/5-8)	
	High Media Usage (23/6-9)	Low Media Usage (23/1-3)	High Media Usage (23/6-9)	Low Media Usage (23/1-3)
Proportion With High Information Level (15/8,9)	65%	46%	50%	14%
(N)	(171)	(13)	(10)	(22)

Low Education (31/ 1-5)

	Hi Involvement (21/1,2)		Lo Involvement (21/5-8)	
	High Media Usage (23/6-9)	Low Media Usage (23/1-3)	High Media Usage (23/6-9)	Low Media Usage (23/1-3)
Proportion With High Information Level (15/8,9)	52%	39%	40%	9%
(N)	(130)	(41)	(35)	(155)

Additional exercise: Political Information

Reading:

Philip Converse, "Information Flow and Stability of Partisan Attitudes."

So little analysis has been done on political information in the electorate, that almost anything you do with this 1964 measure (col. 66) will be original research. Do one of the following exercises:

1) Generate three or four dimensional tables like those in the above Exercise in which the proportions represent either high or low levels of political information (col. 66). Use social and/or political variables to create the tables.

2) Distribute opinions on several foreign or domestic policies (col. 74-77) and party identification (col. 60) according to levels of political information (col. 66). Do the attitudes on policy and political preferences vary according to level of information? What is the significance of this finding?

Political Behavior Laboratory

ASSIGNMENT 12

The Explanation of Political Attitudes

Assigned Reading:
A. Campbell, *et al.*, *The American Voter*, chaps. 8 and 9.

Exercise: For 1956 take either 1) two international issues (columns 34 and 35) and make an "internationalism" index with three or five points; or 2) two domestic economic issues (columns 33 and 36) and construct a "liberalism" index with three or five points.

Example 1:

Three point index: For each item designate a liberal response.

Most Liberal:	Three points:	A liberal response to *both* items.
	Two points:	A liberal response to *one* item.
	One point:	A liberal response to neither item.

A five point index: A five point index may be constructed in a variety of ways including the following manner after the responses to each item have been designated as 1) strong liberal, liberal, neutral, conservative, strong conservative; or 2) liberal, neutral, and conservative. In the following indices 5 will be the most liberal.

Example 2:

	Response to Column 33				
Response to Col. 36	Strong Liberal	Liberal	Neutral	Conservative	Strong Conservative
Strong Liberal	5	5	4	3	3
Liberal	5	4	4	3	3
Neutral	4	4	3	2	2
Conservative	3	3	2	2	1
Strong Conservative	3	3	2	1	1

Example 3:

Response to Col. 36	Response to Column 33 Liberal	Neutral	Conservative
Liberal	5	4	3
Neutral	4	3	2
Conservative	3	2	1

After having constructed the index you have chosen, assess to what extent an individual's attitudes (his position on the index) can be explained or predicted by his personal characteristics. Obviously the distributions you find will be influenced by the variables you have selected. You may or may not include party identification among the variables. What additional variables would you expect to be revealing?

Methodological note: indices and scales.

Up to this point we have considered relationships between variables represented by single items only. For example, we cross-tabulated--or correlated--responses about party identification (a single item variable coded in one column of the IBM card) with religion while controlling for region (religion and region also being single items). Often, however, a series of questions or items are asked in the interview which each refer to some specific aspect of the same general phenomenon. For example, your codebook contains a series of questions something like the following: "Did you talk to others about the campaign?" "Did you give money to one of the parties?" "Did you go to any political meetings or rallies?" "Did you do any work for one of the parties?" Each of these questions can be used individually to indicate a specific type of activity. More broadly, however, all of them also refer to a general form of behavior--participation in an election campaign. If we wished to measure this overall campaign participation, no single question in the above series would be very satisfactory--if we used "attendance at meetings" as an indicator anyone who gave money but did not go to meetings would not be included in our category of participators; similarly, an individual who both gave money and went to meetings would be considered equal to another who only did the latter. Rather than relying on any single question as an indicator of campaign activity we might want to combine several questions into one overall measure of participation. We will discuss two general forms that such a combined measure might take--indices and scales.

The simpler of these two methods is to create an index as you have done in this exercise. This is essentially a straightforward assigning of scores to individuals on the basis of their responses to each of the questions in the series considered. In the above example we might give one point for each different kind of campaign activity. Thus an individual who gave money, attended meetings, talked to people, and did party work would receive a total score of 4, another who only gave money and talked to people would be given a score of 2 and so on. Our index of campaign participation, then, would range from 0 to 4 and each individual would be assigned a single score on the basis of his responses to all four of the questions about specific forms of activity. A variation of this procedure might be to assign different "weights" to the different questions. We might feel, for example, that doing work for one of the parties is a more intense form of activity than the other types considered and should be counted more heavily in the measurement of overall participation. We could then give two points for a positive response to the question about party work while still giving only one point for each of the other activities.

Table 12.1 shows the various combinations of activities which would yield different overall scores under this weighting system. Other weighting systems are also possible.

Table 12.1. Activity

Score	Party Work (weight = 2)	Give Money (weight = 1)	Attend Meeting (weight = 1)	Talk to People (weight = 1)
5	X	X	X	X
4	X	X	X	
4	X		X	X
4	X	X		X
3	X	X		
3	X		X	
3	X			X
3		X	X	X
2	X			
2		X	X	
2			X	X
2		X		X
1				X
1			X	
1		X		
0				

It should be noticed that the decisions about which questions to use and what weights to assign to questions are left entirely to the analyst in constructing an index. An index has no particular properties which the data must satisfy and the only criteria for an acceptable index are common sense evaluation of the selection and weighting of the questions to be included and the usefulness of the index for analysis of the problem at hand.

This is generally not the case with scales, however. To construct an acceptable scale usually requires that the data conform to certain criteria and ways of "validating"scales--determining if in fact the data do meet the criteria--have been developed. The simplest type of scale requires only that the data which the scale measures be ordered--that all points on the scales be ranked relative to each other. More complex scales often also require the conditions of "distance," i.e., a measurable distance between points on the scale and an "origin," the existence of a zero-point.

In an elementary sense it might be said that our index of participation meets the criterion of order--the scores from 0 to 4 are ordered to the extent that each succeeding score on the index indicates an increasing number of activities performed. We do not wish to call this a scale, however, because we have imposed this order on the data. We do not know if an increasing number of activities really means an increasing degree of campaign participation; we have simply assumed that it does. In fact, by introducing a weighting system, we are in effect saying that counting the number of activities does not alone give us a good measure of the degree of participation.

A scale represents a higher degree of order in the responses than an index. A scale yields an ordering of the items used from "high to low," "most to least," etc. and within limits of error yields an ordering of the respondents. Knowing a scale score or position represents much more information than an index score.

There are various types of scales and different methods for ascertaining whether or not a set of data forms a scale. Here we will discuss one type of well-known scaling procedure developed by Louis Guttman. The primary characteristic of a Guttman scale is that the items in the scale are ordered from "most" something or other to "least" and that individuals who respond positively to an item of a certain level will also respond positively to all items below it.

If we wished to find out if the four questions on participation scaled according to Guttman's criterion, we might order the questions from least difficult to most difficult in the following way: talk to people; give money; attend meetings; and do party work. If these items form a Guttman scale, all those individuals who do party work would also be expected to do each of the other three types of activity. Similarly, an individual who gave money would also talk to people about the campaign. Graphically, the pattern of responses to the four questions should look like Figure 12.1.

Figure 12.1

	Talk to People	Give Money	Attend Meetings	Party Work
I	X	X	X	X
II	X	X	X	
III	X	X		
IV	X			
V				

If the items qualify as a Guttman scale, both the items and the individuals responding to the questions can be ranked. For example, an individual with the pattern of responses at position II above, can be given a higher score on participation than an individual with the pattern of responses at III or IV.

What is important to remember is that any particular set of data may or may not be scalable. If we find, for instance, that in our sample of respondents a substantial proportion of those individuals who do party work do not also engage in some or all of the other three activities, the questions as arranged above, do not constitute a scale of participation. Again, this is a basic distinction between an index and a scale. To form a scale, the data must conform to certain criteria; the characteristics of an index, on the other hand, are determined more or less arbitrarily by the analyst. For this reason, scales constitute a more sensitive and theoretically meaningful measuring instrument than do indices. For this same reason, however, they are more difficult to construct and validate, and unfortunately are less often used in data analysis.

Additional exercise: Levels of Conceptualization

Reading:

A. Campbell, et al., The American Voter, chap. 10.

The respondents in the 1956 study were assigned a rating according to their level of conceptualization by the analysts at the Survey Research Center. A description of the responses and the code is in the assigned reading; column 25 shows the code available for your analysis of the 1956 data.

Only a few variables are discussed in chapter 10 of The American Voter in the authors' investigation of the levels of conceptualization.

You should select one of the following possibilities or devise something comparable of your own and analyze your results:

1) Distribute the levels of conceptualization (col. 25) according to party identification (col. 19) and subsequently introduce controls for region (col. 17) and then eliminate habitual non-voters (using col. 24, party regularity).

2) Do the same analysis as above except substitute party regularity (col. 24) for party identification.

3) Distribute responses of several foreign and domestic issues (col. 32-37) according to the levels of conceptualizations (col. 25). Introduce a control for party (col. 19) by looking at Democrats, Republicans and independents according to levels A and B combined and levels C and D combined.

Additional exercise: Social and Political Location of Ideologues

Reading:
A. Campbell, et al., The American Voter, chap. 10.

Even though the ideologues and near-ideologues are not numerous in society we are interested in their location in social and political categories. Using the technique of data presentation shown in Assignment 11, Table 11.2 generate tables with three or four dimensions of social variables. The cell entries should show proportions of ideologues and near-ideologues in the cell. As a variation you might mix social and political variables in your analysis.

Political Behavior Laboratory

ASSIGNMENT 13

Socio-economic Stratification and Political Participation

Assigned Reading:
V. O. Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy, chaps, 8, 16, 21 (parts 1,2)

V. O. Key has suggested that "if a political order is to be democratic, political activists must be sprinkled . . . through all levels of the economic-occupational hierarchy." In other words, if all political activists came from, say, the business and professional classes, and workers were not represented at all among those who participated, the voice of the businessmen and professionals would have undue weight in the councils of government. The purpose of this investigation is to see how well people from all walks of life are "sprinkled through" the ranks of political activists. How well are people of all classes represented among the active participants?

Table 13.1. Political Participation and Occupation of Head of Household, 1964

	Level of Participation				
Occupation of Head of Household 58/	None	Very Low	Some	High	Very High
Professional 58/1	6%	11%	14%	22%	16%
Business 58/2	13	15	18	19	31
Clerical & Sales 58/3	8	9	12	20	20
Skilled Labor 58/4	31	24	30	21	16
Unskilled 58/5,6	10	9	5	-	2
Farmers 58/8	6	6	3	-	4
Retired 58/9	14	15	9	12	12
Other 58/7,0,+	10	9	7	5	-
N.A. 58/-	1	2	1	1	-
Total	97%	100%	99%	100%	101%
N =	743	283	280	85	51

Would you say that all occupational groups are represented among the activists?

What proportion of the population are high participators?

If we were to pick someone at random from the general public, what is the probability that he (or she) would be in a professional, business, or other white collar occupation and disagree with having government medical care?

Now let us look at high participators. What is the probability that an activist will be someone who is in a white collar occupation with a negative reaction to medical care?

What consequences might this have on political leaders' assessment of public opinion on medicare if high participators are perceived as "the public?"

Repeat the same exercise--someone picked at random from the general public, someone from the activist group--and test the relative probabilities of getting a favorable opinion about medical care from the blue collar class.

What is the probability of getting a "don't know" from the general public compared with the activists?

Are the opinions of blue collar activists representative of blue collar people's opinions in general? (Careful, remember how the per cents were computed.)

What conclusions can you draw regarding representation of opinions among political actives? Does a "sprinkling" from different walks of life correct the bias among activists?

Table 13.2. Opinion on Government Medical Care by Occupational Class: A Comparison of the General Public and Political Actives, 1964

	General Public			High Participators		
	Opinion on Medical Care 76/			Opinion on Medical Care 76/		
Occupational Class	Agree	Disagree	DK	Agree	Disagree	DK
White Collar 58/1-3	16%	14	5	22%	39	2
Blue Collar 58/4-7	23	9	8	10	9	2
Farmers 58/8	3	1	1	-	2	-
Retired 58/9	8	4	2	3	8	1
Other 58/7,0,-,+	4	2	1	1	1	1
			Total 101% N=1444			Total 101% N=124

Additional exercise: Party Contact in the Electorate

Reading:

Daniel Katz and Samuel Eldersveld, "The Impact of Local Party Activity on the Electorate," in E. Dreyer and W. Rosenbaum, eds., Political Opinion and Electoral Behavior, pp. 344-353.

A good deal is known from the perspective of political parties about campaign activities designed to reach the voters, but relatively little is known about the electorate's perception of campaign activities and the perceived impact. For both 1956 and 1960, low and high activity elections perhaps, we have survey data on reported contact by the political parties (col. 23 & 49). These data will permit you to assess the efficacy of personal contact by the parties. Do one of the following:

1) Using both 1956 and 1960 data assess the impact of party contact (col. 23 & 49) on vote turnout (col. 22 & 50). Does contact by both parties have the same impact on turnout as contact by one? Are you able to say whether or not a respondent would have voted or not without party contact?

2) Are Republican voters as likely to be contacted as Democratic voters (col. 22 & 50)? Are independents (col. 19 & 44) more or less likely to be contacted than partisans?

3) Are there regional and other social variations in the contact by the political parties? Are these variations in accordance with what you expected?

Additional exercise: Campaign Contributions and Solicitation

Reading:

Alexander Heard, The Costs of Democracy (Garden City, N.Y., Anchor Books, 1962) pp. 35-59.

The questions asked in 1964 permit you to analyze the campaign contributors (col. 68) in contrast with people who do not give either because they refuse or they are not asked to give. You might analyze the social and political location of campaign contributors. Or on the chance that influence is associated with campaign contributions, compare the contributors' attitudes on policies (col. 74-77) with those of non-contributors.

Political Behavior Laboratory

ASSIGNMENT 14

Political Participation

Assigned Reading:

Herbert McClosky, Paul J. Hoffman, and Rosemary O'Hara, "Issue Conflict and Consensus Among Party Leaders and Followers," American Political Science Review, June, 1960, pp. 406-427.

Philip E. Converse, et al., "Electoral Myth and Reality: The 1964 Election," American Political Science Review, June, 1965, pp. 332-335.

In a democracy, if governmental policy is to respond to the opinions of the people, political leaders must somehow learn what the public is thinking. Yet how are leaders to gauge public opinion?

Some insight into this question was gained through a study of the 85th Congress by the Survey Research Center. When the Congressmen were asked how much effort they expended on gathering information, 62 per cent said they spend a great deal of effort seeking district opinion through "personal contact"; 25 per cent relied heavily on mail; 8 per cent had a great deal of contact with their local party organization; 5 per cent used hometown newspapers frequently; and 6 per cent said they used polls extensively. These data indicate that these political leaders make an effort to gauge public sentiments by relying mostly on mail and personal contacts, especially the latter.

It would be extremely difficult to discover and study the individuals in the political system who constitute "personal contact" for all kinds of political leaders. In fact, attempt has even been made to do this nationally. In an effort to get around this difficulty we will consider the possibility that political activists, defined several ways, are the individuals in the general public with whom political leaders have personal contact. In your opinion how likely is it that individuals who attend two or more political meetings or rallies are representative of all individuals who have "personal contact" with political leaders?____________________

Notice that unlike the consideration of most of the other variables there is no feasible way of assessing the validity of this dimension. The only validity is "face validity," i.e., the reasonableness of the argument for using the variable.

An interesting problem for political analysis is the similarity or dissimilarity of political activists' opinions in comparison with the entire electorate. Table 14.1 shows in the first column the comparison of the political activists with the electorate as a whole.

Using meeting attendance as a measure, how do political activists in 1964 compare with the whole electorate in liberalism-conservatism?

Do the three specific issues in Table 14.1 show the same patterns of liberalism-conservatism in comparing those who attend meetings with the general public? Compare the distributions of "Presidential Integration" with the distributions of "Medical Care" for the public with those who go to two or more meetings.

Assuming that individuals who attend two or more meetings during a campaign are roughly equivalent to political leaders' "personal contacts," what generalizations follow from the data in Table 14.1?

Another indicator of public opinion is "letters to the editor" and mail to political leaders. The article by Converse, et al., "Electoral Myth and Reality: The 1964 Election," discusses the role of mail in representing public opinion. Summarize the main findings about letter writers as representatives of the public in Converse's article.

The distribution of letter writers in Table 14.1 on liberalism-conservatism is similar to Figure 2 (e) in Converse's article. How do the distributions on specific issues compare with liberalism-conservatism for letter writers?

Table 14.1. Political Attitudes and Political Participation, 1964

Attitude Toward:	Attendance at Political Meetings and Rallies 70/			Number of Letters Written to Public Officials 69/		
	None	One	Two or More	None	One or Two	Three or More
Liberal-Conservative Feelings						
Pro-Conservative	4%	8%	24%	4%	4%	18%
	19	32	23	19	26	26
Neutral	59	43	35	60	51	32
	16	16	16	16	15	20
Pro-Liberal	2	2	2	2	5	3
Total	100%	101%	100%	101%	101%	99%
N =	1278	63	62	1307	110	99
Government Medical Care						
Agree	51%	38%	34%	52%	38%	33%
Depends	6	9	11	5	10	12
Disagree	27	42	45	25	48	45
No Interest, DK	16	11	10	18	4	10
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N =	1307	64	62	1346	110	100
Foreign Aid						
Agree	53%	63%	47%	52%	56%	59%
Depends	18	16	37	17	25	24
Disagree	19	20	10	19	15	16
No Interest, DK	11	2	6	12	4	1
Total	101%	101%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N =	1304	64	62	1344	110	101
Residential Integration						
Anti	26%	19%	23%	27%	23%	21%
DK, Depends	16	22	11	17	16	13
Pro	57	58	66	56	61	66
N.A.	1	2	-	1	-	1
Total	100%	101%	100%	101%	100%	101%
N =	1319	64	62	1347	111	102

How do these findings for letter writers compare with those for those who attend meetings?______________________________

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What evidence is there to support Converse's statement that "political discourse becomes most notably a dialogue between very mild liberals and ultra-conservatives?" (Converse, et al., "Electoral Myth and Reality: The 1964 Election," p. 335.)______________________________

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Do McClosky's findings about leaders and followers apply to these data comparing activists with the public?__________ Why______________________________

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Of course going to meetings and writing letters are only two of the many ways in which the public can be politically active and influential. People can also participate in politics by working for a political party, wearing campaign buttons or displaying stickers, talking with others about a campaign, or they can demonstrate interest and perhaps gain some influence by giving money to a political party. In order to derive a measure of overall participation, respondents were scored on the number of these activities that they participated in during the 1964 campaign. This measure establishes a continuum of political participation upon which we can locate people by degree of activism.

We can also look at high levels of political activity as an asset or resource distributed between the Republican and Democratic parties. In 1964 about two-thirds of the most active during the campaign were Republicans—considerably more than their voting strength or party identification in the public. As an indicator of campaign activity the political participation variable should be controlled for region and community size to better show where the parties' strength lies. Table 14.2 shows these controls and a comparison of the relative strength of Republicans and Democrats among activists and the public.

Is it true in Table 14.2 that where Republicans are strongest in the general public they are strongest among active participants?_______________
How would you account for this finding?____

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____

Where does the pro-Republican bias among activists depart most from the Republican strength in the general public?______________________________________

How would you account for this?____

____

____

____

Table 14.2. Political Participation According to Party Identification Controlled for Region and Community Size, 1964

		North			South		
		City	Town & Suburb	Rural	City	Town & Suburb	Rural
High Participation	Democratic	41%	28%	(6)	(10)	(8)	(4)
	Republican	59	72	(12)	(4)	(7)	(1)
	Total	100%	100%				
	N =	37	43	18	14	15	5
Low Participation	Democratic	74%	66%	57%	84%	71%	83%
	Republican	26	34	43	16	29	17
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	N =	272	309	228	83	147	144